



If you were a prince in the 1930's, you might have owned a Mercedes-Benz 540K. Today, you can drive an even finer convertible – for \$11.000 less.

Mercedes-Benz built its classic 540K Cabriolet (background) with all the deliberate speed of an oyster constructing a pearl.

During the entire four-year life of the model, 1936 through 1939, only 406 cars left the plant.

But these cars, snapped up by the rich and royal for the equivalent of \$23,000 today, were enough to make the 540K a legend—the epitome of motoring splendor in the era.

Even now, miniature 540Ks adorn the shelves of modelers, and originals are the envy of aficionados at concours d'élégance the world over.

The latest Mercedes-Benz luxury convertible is at left. The 280SE. While modern technology has spurred production to a heady nine cars a week, helping to shave the price to a mere \$12,000, the car is a worthy successor to the 540K in every way.

If you could strip away the body, you'd find a chassis startlingly different from that of any convertible or sedan built in America.

The innards of an Indianapolis racing machine would come closer. You'd spot all-independent suspension, for matchless agility and roadholding. Massive, four-wheel disc brakes, for heroic stopping power. And an obedient steering system that blesses you with precise. "feel-of-the-road" control.

Of course, all Mercedes-Benz motor cars, even those under \$5,000, have these same performance features.

But the Convertible is also a

masterpiece of workmanship.

The body <u>cannot</u> be unbolted from the frame, as with a conventional car, because they are <u>welded</u> into one rigid, rattle-thwarting unit.

Hands in soft gloves caress the body to detect bumps and burrs, and smooth them away. Vital seams are soldered and buffed to oblivion.

Probing with stethoscopes, engineers have winnowed out harmonic vibrations in the drive train. Seat springs are actually tuned to the car's suspension movements—to cancel thousands of tiny, tring tremors every mile.

Of course, all Mercedes-Benz motor cars, even those under \$5,000, are built this same way, too.

So what makes the Convertible worth \$12,000? Finicky details, frankly.

Like the exquisite leather that lines the car. Glove box, <u>underside</u> of the dash, and all.

Like the handmade fabric top; so thick it houses a courtesy lamp, so padded it muffles road noise better than most hard tops, so taut it refuses to flutter at turnpike speeds.

Like the trim of knurled walnut root, macassar, or other rare woods.

For all the amenities of the

Convertible, chat with your dealer.
And, while you're in the

showroom, examine some other models. You may be surprised at what a splendid Mercedes-Benz you can get—even for a less princely sum.

TIME LISTINGS

TELEVISION Wednesday, June 11

YOU'RE IN LOVE, CHARLIE BROWN (CBS. 8:30-9 p.m.). Suffering from unrequited love of the Little Red-Haired Girl, poor Peanuts cartoon special. Repeat.

THE OUTSIDER (NBC, 10-11 p.m.). A literate, humorous series starring Darren Mc-Gavin as a seedy and realistic private eve. The Outsider will not be continued after this summer's reruns. Betty Field and Marie Windsor guest-star in Long-Stemmed American Beauty." Repeat.

Thursday, June 12

THURSDAY NIGHT MOVIES (CBS. 9-11:30 p.m.). A band of starving Cheyennes manages to escape from a reservation only to run into the U.S. Army in John Ford's beautiful Cheyenne Autumn (1964), with James Stewart, Dolores Del Rio, Richard Widmark, Arthur Kennedy and Carroll Baker.

Saturday, June 14 WIDE WORLD OF SPORTS (ABC, 5-6 p.m.).

Some mileage of the Le Mans 24-Hour Grand Prix of Endurance, live from France via satellite.

U.S. OPEN GOLF CHAMPIONSHIP (ABC. 7:30 p.m.). Third round of one of the year's major tournaments, from the Champions Golf Club in Houston. Fourth and final round Sunday, 5-7 p.m.

Sunday, June 15
MEET THE PRESS (NBC, 12:30-1:30 p.m.). Special hour-long edition from Pittsburgh, where the U.S. Conference of Mayors is being held

DIRECTIONS (ABC, 1-1:30 p.m.). The World of Shalom of Safed, an award-winning film on the Israeli primitive painter (real name: Shalom Moskowitz). Repeat. SOUNDS OF SUMMER (NET, 8-10 p.m.).

Appalachian music may not be big in the marketplace, but old and young devotees keep it alive, witness the second annual "Folk Festival of the Smokies" from Gat-

HEE HAW (CBS, 9-10 p.m.). Buck Owens and His Buckaroos and Roy Clark will sing and pick and fiddle over the summer months, backed up by other country-and-Western performers like Grandpa Jones. Stringbean, Conway Twitty, Tammy Wynette, Sonny James and Jerry Lee Lewis.

Monday, June 16 CAROL BURNETT PRESENTS THE JIMMIE

RODGERS SHOW (CBS, 10-11 p.m.). Another down-home singing star, Rodgers will have among the show's regulars Lyle Wagnoner. Vicki Lawrence and the Burgundy Street Singers. The opening-night guests will be Wayne Newton and Dana Valery.

Tuesday, June 17

NET FESTIVAL (NET, 9-10 p.m.). This documentary looks into the life and work of Author Henry Miller, tracing him through his expatriate days in Paris and calling on him (along with Authors Lawrence Durrell and Anaïs Nin) at his present home in Los Angeles

* All times E.D.T.

THEATER

On Broadway HAMLET, Every Hamlet bleeds in the last scene: Nicol Williamson pours his blood into every scene. Williamson's Dane would have led a sit-in at the University of Wittenberg, or burned it to the ground. The rottenness of the state, the corruption of his elders, the brevity of his mother's love. Ophelia's frail readiness to be her father's pawn-all these nauseate him. Yet his antic disposition never leaves him, and a Hamlet has never been presented with so much caustic wit. With this per-

THE FRONT PAGE. Robert Ryan and Bert Convy, backed by an adroit cast, star in a revival of the Ben Hecht-Charles Mac-Arthur saga of newspapering in the Chicago of the 1920s. When the time comes to put the paper to bed and bring down the final curtain, the audience may well feel sorry that it has to go home.

FORTY CARATS. Julie Harris stars in this frothy French farce that enters a plausible plea for a single standard of judgment on age disparity in marriage.

HADRIAN VII is a dramatization of Frederick William Rolfe's novel, Hadrian the Seventh, a minor masterpiece of wish fulfillment about a rejected candidate the priesthood who is elected Pope. Alec McCowen's performance as the fictional Pope is a paradigm of the elegant best in English acting.

Off Broadway

NO PLACE TO BE SOMEBODY. Charles Gordone's story of black-white and blackblack relations is flawed by melodrama, yet the play ticks with menace and is unexpectedly and explosively funny

THE MISER. The Lincoln Center Repertory Company has staged a lively revival of Molière's comedy. Robert Symonds brings Harpagon, the miserable mock hero of the play, to robust life.

ADAPTATION-NEXT, Satirist Elaine May directs her own play, Adaptation, and Terrence McNally's Next for an evening of richly humorous one-acters

TO BE YOUNG, GIFTED AND BLACK is a scries of readings from the works of the late playwright Lorraine Hansberry. which whites as well as blacks speak for her. Suffused with anger at injustice, it is something of a milestone in the current white-black confrontation

CINEMA

LAUGHTER IN THE DARK. Love is literally blind in this corrosive black comedy about who becomes helplessly enamored of a lascivious movie usherette (Anna Karina). Williamson makes a strong performance out of a weak man. The script-from Vladimir Nabokov's novel-is literate and intelligent, and Tony Richardson's direction is his best since The Entertainer

PEOPLE MEET AND SWEET MUSIC FILLS THE HEART. Moviegoers weary of the sobersided sex of I Am Curious (Yellow) will find some light and welcome relief in this bi-

zarre Danish satire. MIDNIGHT COWBOY, Melancholy and an aching sense of loneliness pervade the screen version of James Leo Herlihy's

two loners in New York. The acting by Dustin Hoffman and Newcomer Jon Voight is excellent, even though John Schlesinger's direction sometimes becomes too slick.

THE LOVES OF ISADORA, Dancer Isadora Duncan had quite a life, but there is little of it left in this biography, which has been severely truncated by the film's distributors. Vanessa Redgrave lends the film its only distinction with a graceful, majestic performance that is worth the price

THE ROUND UP and THE RED AND THE WHITE are two bitter, handsome films by Hungary's Miklós Jancsó that share a tred for its perpetrators.

WINNING. Paul Newman and Joanne

than a decade

Woodward appear as a husband and wife whose marital trials are enacted against the roar of the auto-racing circuit. The film gives a pretty bumpy ride overall, but it is a pleasant enough vehicle for the Newmans

THE NIGHT OF THE FOLLOWING DAY looks at first glance like a routine kidnaping thriller, but Writer-Director Hubert Cornfield uses the crime only as a premise on which to build a stylish seminar on the poetics of violence. In a small but superb cast, Marlon Brando plays a hipster hood and gives his best performance in more

MY SIDE OF THE MOUNTAIN and RING OF BRIGHT WATER. These two children's films are distinguished by their lack of covness and a single-minded refusal to condescend to their audience. Mountain concerns a Canadian lad who runs off to the woods, and Ring tells the sprightly tale of a London accountant and his pet otter.

GOODBYE, COLUMBUS, A newcomer named Ali MacGraw and her co-star, Richard Beniamin, shine in this otherwise lackluster adaptation of Philip Roth's novella of being THE FIXER is a Jewish handyman in turn-

of-the-century Russia who learns courage through suffering, and honor through defeat. John Frankenheimer's direction is precise and controlled, and the distinguished cast-notably Alan Bates (in the title role), Dirk Bogarde and Ian Holm all seem perfect for their roles. STOLEN KISSES. Another chapter in the

cinematic autobiography of François Truffaut, this perfect little film chronicles the adventures of the hero of The 400 Blows during the last months of his adolescence.

BOOKS **Best Reading**

Children's Picture Books

GIGIN AND TILL, by Beatrix Schären (Atheneum: \$4.95). A lonely little boy takes a trip through dreamland with his stuffed doll and discovers that all his old toys have come to life. BANG BANG YOU'RE DEAD, by Louise Fitz-

hugh and Sandra Scoppettone, illustrated by Louise Fitzhugh (Harper & Row; \$3.95). "army" on a Four scruffy kids playing hill learn more about war than they bargained for when the rules change and fighting becomes real. A cheerful book despite

DOMINIQUE AND THE DRAGON, by Jürgen Tamchina, illustrated by Heidrun Petrides (Harcourt, Brace & World; \$4.25). A picture book with more than the usual amount of text, this one tells of a very fierce dragon who frightens a small town until lovingly subdued by a little girl. The story is well written with delightful Bruegelean

HOW, HIPPOI, by Marcia Brown (Scribner's, \$3.50). Twice winner of the Caldecott Prize, Marcia Brown has produced another remarkable picture book. Handsome, four-color woodcuts and a rich though slender text make the world of a kindergarten-aged hippo absorbing and

THE CAT AT NIGHT, by Dahlov Ipcar (Doubleday; \$3.95). What does a cat do at might? Ipcar's bold drawings alternate from cool black and blue to hot daylight colors, as his cat tours the farm letting the child see what is visible only to the "cat at night."

at night."

LONG, BROAD & QUICKEYE, by Evaline
Ness (Scribner's; \$3.95). A charming Bohemian fairy tale with the usual maiden
held captive by the wicked wizard before
being saved by a captivating young prince.
This one has three unusual characters
named Long, Broad and Quickeye, who

help with the rescue.

WORKING WITH WATER, by E. A. Catherall and P. N. Holt (Albert Whitman; \$2,75). One of a series of science-experiments books (magnets, light, sounds) simple enough for the very young child. Most of the materials needed can be found in the home.

THE PRACTICAL PRINCESS, by Jay Williams, Illustrated by Friso Henstra (Parents' Magazine Press; \$3.951. A princess named Bedeia manages to slay a dragon by using a little common sense—and a lot of gunon tower and marries a handsome prince, all because she is practical. A humorous twist because she is practical. A humorous twist

on the standard fairy tale with slightly baroque illustrations.

THY FRIEND, OBADIAH, by Brinton Turkle (Viking: \$3.95). A sequel to Obadiah the Bold, the book shows the friendship between a sea gull and a young Quaker boy on the island of Nantucket. Splendid watercolor and pencil illustrations.

JOHN AND THE RABEY, by Rosemary Wells Funk & Wagnalls: \$5.50, What does a boy do when his parents won't let him have a real pet? He goes looking for a clean, neat animal—and finds a "Rarey." Equally lively is Rosemary Wells' Hugger Fred, with text by Paula Fox (Bradbury Press; \$3.95). A mod book with consid-

erable style and wit.

THE ENCHANIED DRUM, by Maria Aebersold, illustrated by Walter Grieder (Parents' Magazine Press; \$4.50). A small by with a magic drum finds fantastic adventure at a Swiss carnival. The background and pictures of the children in zany costumes and grotesque masks are

sometimes dazzling, sometimes dizzying, LOOK AT THE MOON, by May Garelick, illustrated by Leonard Weisgard (Young Scott; \$3.95). The moon that "casts its light for all to see" is shown in a variety of scenes painted in blue and white. A pictorial mood book with a rhyming text,

AND SO MY GARDEN GROWS, by Peter Spier (Doubleday; \$3.95). A collection of nursery rhymes and riddles record the not so imaginary Italian journey of two children. Spier did the illustrations on location mainly in and around Florence. His delicate pen-and-ink scenes overlayed with soft colors show off with rare beauty everything from the drab yard of a Florentine suburb to a towering 14th century villa.

THE GREAT BIG ENORMOUS TURNIP, by Alexei Tolstoy, illustrated by Helen Oxenbury (Watts; \$3.95). "The mouse pulled the cat, the cat pulled the dog." etc., until mouse, cat, dog, granddaughter, old man and old woman get the enormous turnip out of the ground.

Best Sellers

FICTION

- Portnoy's Complaint, Roth
 (1 last week)
- . The Love Machine, Susann (3) . The Godfother, Puzo (2)
- 4. Ada, Nabokov (5)
- 5. Except for Me and Thee, West (6) 6. The Salzburg Connection, MacInnes (8)
- 7. Airport, Hailey (9) 8. Slaughterhouse-Five, Vonnegut (4)
- 9. Bullet Park, Cheever (7)

 10. Sunday the Rabbi Stayed Home,
 Kamalman (10)
- NONFICTION

 1. Ernest Hemingway, Baker (1)
- 2. Between Parent and Teenager, Ginott (5)
- 3. The Peter Principle, Peter and Hull (8) 4. Jennie, Martin (2)
- Jennie, Martin (2)
 Miss Craig's 21-Day Shape-Up Program for Men and Women, Craig (3)
- 6. The 900 Days, Salisbury (4) 7. Lillian Gish: The Movies, Mr. Griffith
- and Me, Gish and Pinchot 8. The Money Game, 'Adam Smith' (7)
- 9. The Arms of Krupp, Manchester (9) 10. The Volochi Papers, Maas (10)



TIME, JUNE 13, 1969



A devoted father, Picasso willingly puts aside his work to frolic with his children. Here, he spars with his son Claude.



Two of the women in Picasso's life. Three water jugs, scavenged from a trash pile, form the breasts and belly of the sculpture.

When you understand Picasso, you understand modern art... THE WORLD OF PICASSO

describes, explains and shows you 70 years of Picasso's work. Borrow it for 10 days free from the TIME-LIFE Library of Art

"What is Pablo doing?" Jealous of his place as the foremost painter in Paris, Matisse asked this question as far back as 1906. And "what Pablo was doing" continued to influenceoften dominate-art for the next 60 years. Again and again, his "shocking" innovations set the pace for other painters. In a half century that has seen more styles of painting than the previous 2,000 years, he played a part in almost all of them. Now, at 87, Picasso could easily fill a museum or illustrate a history of modern art with his paintings, sculpture, drawings, graphics and ceramics.

The World of Picasso is your introduction to the TIME-LIFE Library of Art, a series which will bring you the origins, the evolutions and the finest flowerings of 700 years of Western art. Ranging from Giotto to Jackson Pollock ... from Dürer to Duchamp...the Library treats art both as a fascinating subject in itself and as the most eloquent expression of a particular place and period.

In this first volume, you'll meet Picasso the man as well as Picasso the artist. You'll find him playing with his children . . . shooting at a tin can with Gary Cooper (neither could hit it) .. entertaining American soldiers in his Paris studio (his popularity with them was equalled only by the Eiffel Tower). You'll see him at the salon of Gertrude Stein...drawing inspiration from the women in his life...breaking down the barriers of traditional art...moving from drawing to painting, to sculpture, to ceramics, always with stunning originality. You'll visit Paris during la belle époque ... the Paris of Rousseau, Stravinsky, Vollard, Cocteau and Matisse, of Braque, Gris, Duchamp Apollinaire and many others.

Written by Lael Wertenbaker and the Editors of TIME-LIFE BOOKS, The World of Picasso also had as special consultants Sir Roland Penrose, a British Surrealist painter and critic, and Professor Robert Rosenblum, author of a definitive book on 20th-century art. It is 9" x 12" and 190 pages, with more than 240 illustrations, many in full color. Thanks to TIME-LIFE Books' extensive facilities and large print orders, its price to you is only \$5.95, plus postage and handling. And if you accept this volume, you receive free a 3,500-word essay on art history by Dr. H. W. Janson, Consulting Editor for the Library.

The World of Picasso is your key not only to his work, but to all modern art. Borrow it for 10 days free. If it is not as good as you expected, simply send it back. If you keep it, pay just \$5.95 and you will then receive other volumes in the Library of Art every two months for the same free 10-day trial.

Browse through this handsome book-there is no commit-ment to buy when you fill out and mail the order form. Why not do it right now? Or write to TIME-LIFE BOOKS, Dept. 2101, Time & Life Building, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

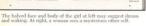




Actual size: 9" x 12". Hard covers, 190 pages. More than 240 illustrations, many in full color.









In his three musicians, Picasso brightens the monochrome of Cubism and adds a rich sense of fun and fantasy to his work.

The Climbing Canadian

or how we've tiptoed our way into some pretty fine glasses.

Onward and upward, climbing the ladder, striving to succeed. All that ambition can wear you out.

So five years ago when our whisky took its first timid steps across the border, we knew we had our work cut out for us.

You see, in Canada they had been enjoying our whisky for years. But in the States, Canadian Whisky drinkers had long before committed themselves to more famous brands.

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and why will your new building need them?

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"Micro-climates" — for schools, offices, apartments, shopping centers, any building. From Lennos Industries Inc., 525 South 12th Avenue, Marshalltown, Ia. 50158.





my heart belongs to daddv

Words from the Temple

Sir: What a glorious honor and thrill it is to be selected to join TIME's brilliantly illustrious cover coterie [June 6]! Nancy and I are overjoyed—just as will be the rest of our tightly knit reportorial "fam-

ily" abroad.

Gentle corrections: 1) between 150,000 and 200,000 words of totally new or revised material appear in each edition of our Travel Guide, embracing every single land between its covers; 2) our very recent survey disclosed that a whopping 83% of its users are repeat readers; 3) when the President of Italy so generously bestowed upon me the Ordina al Merito della Repubblica, it wasn't the Grand Cross, which normally is reserved for chiefs of state and ambassadorial-level diplomats. Since we are naught but toilers in the travel-writing vineyards, the grade is Cross of Commander (Comendador)—which the British and various other governments classify as "Knight Commander."

TEMPLE FIELDING Manhattan

Sir: Some worship at Temple Beth El, others at Temple Fielding. In either case, BOR HALFE

Beverly Hills, Calif. Judgment on the Judge

Sir: Congratulations on a well-rounded appraisal of Judge Warren E. Burger [May The opinions that stand out underscore his integrity, professional idealism, and open-mindedness as a judge. But you could not be more wrong in characterizing him as "nonimaginative" and "noninnovative." We the imaginativeness and innovativeness in his approach to criminal justice and to his concern for the individual. This is clear enough from his opinions, but is striking in the work he has done to help reform the standards of criminal justice through a ma-

PROFESSOR SAMUEL DASH Georgetown University Law Center Washington, D.C.

A Plea of Not Guilty

Sir: In the article "The Beatles Besieged [May 30], TIME erred in stating that I was indicted for income tax evasion—a felony. In February 1966, I pleaded not guilty to the misdemeanor charge of fail-ure to file federal payroll tax returns with respect to income and social security taxes withheld from employees. All approximately monies withheld, \$8,000, were paid to the federal authorities prior to February 1966.

ALIEN KLEIN Riverdale, N.Y.

Hamburger Hill: Round 2

Sir: All this nonsense by Ted Kennedy about Hamburger Hill [May 30] makes me furious. I cannot see how he can make such a statement after what has been happening in the A Shau Valley dur-ing the preceding weeks. In early May, the 1/501st Infantry, 101st Airborne Division found one of the largest enemy caches in the history of the war about seven miles from Hamburger Hill. Two weeks later, the 3/187th Infantry, 101st Airborne Division found another cache almost as large three miles from Hamburger Hill. The A Shau Valley is the logistical center that keeps the rockets and mortars coming into Hue and our firebases. Shortly before Hamburger Hi!!, Firebase Airborne was attacked. Twenty-five men were killed and 60 were wounded by enemy sappers. The firebase was about six miles from Hamburger Hill. Last August, the artillery pieces that wiped out 40% of my platoon and plagued every step of our movement fired from that hill region.

My only regret is that I cannot put Mr. Kennedy, with all his armchair strat-MI. Rennedy, with all his armchair strat-egy, in the middle of the A Shai Valley and watch him stew as the enemy ar-tillery rounds are landing around his head. CHARLES W. NEWHALL III

1st Lieutenant, U.S.A. A.P.O. San Francisco

Mike Who?

Sir: To this Micronesian, your article "Remembering an Adopted Cousin" [May 23] is one of the best things that has happened to Micronesia since 1947, when the United Nations handed Micronesia over to the U.S. under a trusteeship arrangement. The U.S.'s negligence towards the "adopted cousin" is portrayed in Willard Price's America's Paradise Lost (1966):
"Congressman X was flagged down by a newsman on the steps of the Capitol.

" 'What are you going to do about Micronesia?' inquired the reporter.
"'Mike who?' said Mr. X."

DERSON RAMON Agana, Guam

Sir: You are mistaken when you say that Peter T. Coleman, the newly appointed deputy high commissioner of the

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Trust Territory, is the first native to have achieved this status. Alas, Mr. Coleman is a Polynesian, not a Micronesian, being from Samoa, which is about as far from Saipan as New York is from Paris.

RISAN BUDA

Saipan, Mariana Islands

The Chaplains' Dilemma

Sir: Apropos your interesting story on the conflict-of-loyalty problem of military chaplains [May 30], may I point out that a year ago (May 18, 1968), the American Jewish Congress urged that military chap-lains be replaced with civilian religious counselors receiving no pay from the Government and possessing no military rank The resolution adopted by the organization's convention, the first national tion's conscience and the moral judge of its actions. It cannot fulfill that sacred responsibility if it is at the same time the handmaiden of Government." It also not ed that "many chaplains believe that they cannot in conscience support the war their Government is engaged in and at the same time cannot in conscience deny to the soldiers access to the religious guid-ance and help they so desperately need."

LEO PEEFER
Special Counsel
American Jewish Congress

The Last Straw

Sir: Re your report that I had announced I was leaving the Episcopal Church "partially because it is a 'dying institution'

and partially because flishep Myers refused to officiared at my marriage [May climber of the church as such has no bearing. on whether a sincer, thoughful pear it was the reason for the climber which persuaded me. As to the second, I had stated "lishing Myers", granted that the companies of the church, which under an explicit provision of cantude the companies of the church, which under an explicit provision of cantude the companies of the church which under an explicit provision of cantude the companies of the church which under an explicit provision of cantude the church.

It was Bishop Myere action—three days after our Episcopal marriage—publicly calling for a boycott of my functioning as a clerayman—a cruel and uncanonical step unremedied after four months of approaches to him by various responsible clergu and laymen, singly and in groups—which was the straw that broke the camel's

Diane and I would not want to be thought of as leaving the church simely because it is declining at an accelerating rate, of on a petty, personal graind—Bibble and the second similar to the second s

JAMES A. PIKE Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions Santa Barbara. Calif.

Willie the Wise

Sir: Cheers for Willie, who realizes how much he is giving up by having to spend his college years in a coeducational dor-

mitory [May 30].
You are a smart guy, Willie. If you are an average young man, you lived the first 18 years of your life in a house dominated by your mother. Probably fairly-soon after graduation, you will start living for 30 to 50 years in a house dominated by your wife—and that's fine too.

in due course.

But you know that a coeducational dorn will likewise be dominated by the girls and be managed to suit their aims and convenience, not yours; and you know that now may be your only chance to experience the independence and tranquility of living stag and associating with women in your leisure time only when and if you want to.

So you vote against any further crosion of your privacy, to preserve those privileges and that refuge from the inevitable percentage of huntresses.

Douglas Campbell.

Snoopy's Mother

Sir. Although the Apollo 10 crew has been criticized for profane language [May 30], the fact is that Eugene Cernan merely called the attention of the universe to his ill-behaving craft. What better thought could he have had than to remind "Snoopy" of his dog-mother in order to straighten out his pupplike behavior.

OTTO T. TROTT, M.D.

Seattle

WAKE

TO THE FACT THAT ALL
SLEEP AIDS
ARE NOT ALIKE...
NYTOL S DIFFERENT
Naturally, it's safe taken as directed. Non habit-forming. The

rected. Non habit-forming. The difference? Laboratory tests prove Nytol dissolves twice as fast as any other

leading brand. Helps you get to sleep fast. Wake up refreshed.

NOW AVAILABLE IN A
MODERN FAST-ACTING CAPSULE.



The MGB man knows the whole idea behind sports car driving is that the man drives the car and not the other way around. That proper cornering and turning mean four wheels fat on the slope are clean and straight-line without swerves or furch. Knowing all this means that he doesn't settle for an ice sports car when he could have a great when he could have a great one. the MGB.

AT AUSTIN-MG DEALERS





You see only so many MGB's. The kind of men who drive them are in short supply.









Smirnoff comes to the rescue of hum-drum summer drinking with the Smirnoff Blizzard: An avalanche of Smirnoff over packed ice. A wag of lime. Then a frigid blast of Fresea. But unless you insist on Smirnoff, your Blizzard could fizzle into just another summer downpour.



TIME



A letter from the PUBLISHER

Janua R. Shepley

ASSOCIATE Editor David B. Tintraveling through Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union before tackling the job of writing this week's cover story on the state of world Communism. Tinnin's tour amounted to a cram course in the style and strains of life in the East bloc. To his surprise, the biggest payoff came during a cocktail party in Bucharest. There he overheard a Communist official say that copies of a detailed secret document spelling out the agenda for the summit meeting in Moscow had been sent to party central committees all over the world. Tinnin quickly sent a cable informing the TIME-LIFE News Service, urging correspondents working on the cover to be alert for any opportunity to examine the document. One correspondent eventually succeeded

In Moscow, Bureau Chief Jerrold Schecter was one of four American newsmen who were allowed a look at the meeting hall. To help Schecter with the preparations. Rome Bureau Chief James Bell flew to Russia-on the same Aeroflot plane with members of the Italian delegation. Washington Correspondent Gregory Wierzynski talked with Government officials, foreign diplomats and academic experts. From Hong Kong, Correspondent Bruce Nelan sent an analysis of the Sino-Soviet split. Other TIME bureaus throughout the world also weighed in with reports. In addition to Writer Tinnin, the New York staff that worked on the cover included Senior Editor Jason McManus, Researchers Sara Collins and Hanne Meister.

From the Paris bureau they received an unexpected contribution -an intimate, first-hand report on Chinese Communism from the staff librarian, Jean Pasqualini. Born in Peking of a Chinese mother and a Corsican father, Pasqualini served as an interpreter for the U.S. Marines after World War II, later was arrested by Mao's police, charged with spying and sentenced to twelve years in a labor camp. After serving seven years. Pasqualini was released

The essay on Marxism that accompanies the cover was written by Max Ways. The contribution represents a welcome return engagement. Ways, a member of FORTUNE's Board of Editors, was for many years a senior Editor of TIME.

The Cover: Collage by Dennis Wheeler. Clockwise from the top, China's Mao, Russia's Brezhnev, Yugoslavia's Tito, Rumania's Ceauşescu, Cuba's Castro.

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PACIFIC SITE OF NIXON-THIEU CONFERENCE

IN MID-PASSAGE AT MIDWAY

BY different means, around the U.S. and halfway across the Pacific Ocean, Richard Nixon found heart and voice last week to confront three of the crucial questions that have troubled the nation in the second half of this decade. Their solutions evaded Nixon's predecessor, and Nixon himself has yet to show that he has new answers. But he is now involved and committed, a partisan no longer above the battle

At General Beadle State College in South Dakota, the President roundly castigated student militants and denounced campus disorder. At the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs. he took up the cudgels for the much-criticized U.S. defense establishment (see following stories). Reported TIME Washington Bureau Chief Hugh Sidey, who was travelling with the President: "Richard Nixon is rather possessed by two thoughts at this stage. He is deeply worried that the nation, as he puts it both publicly and privately, is turning inward, and he feels that his mission in the Presidency is to keep the U.S. great. In truth Nixon really viewed his two speeches as a one-two punch, a single declaration. The finale of this scenario was to come at Midway."

So the President moved across the globe toward Asia to grapple directly with South Viet Nam. Nixon flew to Midway Island for his first meeting as President with Nguyen Van Thieu, the South Vietnamese chief of state

Not Wedded, Both Presidents faced a grave dilemma that could profoundly influence the effectiveness-or in Thieu's ease the survival-of their regimes. The National Liberation Front has thus far refused to countenance any suggestion of a political settlement in South Viet Nam that would perpetuate Thien's "puppet regime." Yet the U.S. might damage Saigon's hard-won political stability if it were to jettison Thieu at this stage. In fact, the Midway meeting was designed to holster Thieu's position with tributes to South Vietnamese courage and Washington-Saigon solidarity

On the other hand, if Washington totally embraces the present Saigon government for an indefinite period-or even during the transition phase until elections are held-it may make a settlement with the Communists extremely difficult.

There were unmistakable signs last week of shifting stances both in Washington and in Saigon. Thieu is considering avenues to compromise that he cannot afford to discuss publicly for fear of alienating important hard-line factions among his political supporters He again let it be known that he could agree to holding elections in South Viet Nam before 1971, the year they are now scheduled to take place, if that would speed a negotiated end to the war. The N.L.F. called for such special elections in its ten-point proposal early last month in Paris.

At the same time, Secretary of State William Rogers posed a scarcely concealed threat to Thieu. Rogers, while still a novice in the nuances of diplomacy, is a canny attorney who is not given to ill-considered statements

"We are not wedded to any government in Saigon," he said in a Washington press conference. He added that only principle to which the Administration is wedded is free choice," suggesting that the U.S. could accept any government that resulted from free elections in South Viet Nam: he did not in sist that Thieu be included.

The more immediate question, how-

ever, is not the regime that will result from elections but the regime that will be in charge until elections are held Thieu wants the U.S. to back him in opposing any coalition government that includes the N.L.F., now or later, and he has repeatedly proclaimed that he will give up U.S. support rather than submit to a coalition. In the long run, Saigon may find that President Nixon -under growing pressure from his own electorate-will have to abandon Thieu in order to end the war. Urgent Change, Rogers indicated that

Administration fully expects the South Vietnamese to begin taking over some of the combat burden borne by U.S. troops. "I have no doubt that the government of South Viet Nam is moving in this direction," he said. "They are willing to take over more of the responsibility." As Nixon met with Thieu last weekend, the urgency of that change was inescapable.

At Midway, President Nixon was in mid-passage between a war he had inherited and a war that would soon become his own liability if he could not move effectively toward ending it. In any case, the White House now beheves that a new phase of serious negotiation with Hanoi promises to begin soon in Paris. Both directly in public and elliptically in private, the North Vietnamese are not simply contenting themselves with scoring propaganda points but are starting to go further. They are pressing for details of some of Nixon's eight points.

If, as the White House now suggests, Hanoi's inquiries are intimations of hard bargaining to come, it is doubly vital for Washington and Saigon to show a common front. On the surface at least,

Midway was just such a display,

DEFENDING THE DEFENDERS

SINCE well before Richard Nixon was elected President of the U.S. the nation's military moguls have been the butt of mounting criticism. Its chief cause has been growing disenchantment with the war in Viet Nam, which helped unseat I yndon Johnson and install Nixon in the White House. In the nearly five months since Nixon took office. the disaffection has grown. Overspending on military items-notably the giant C 5A transport, the F-111 fighter-homber, the Cheyenne helicopter-has drawn increasingly savage congressional fire. A newspaper advertisement suggests mockingly: "From the people who brought you Viet Nam-the anti-ballistic missile system." In a hard-hitting speech last week, the President came to the defense of the defenders-and by the aggressiveness of his counterattack almost certainly widened the polarization of American opinion.

His forum could handly have been their chosen. In the crystalline air of Colorado Springs, amid the immaculate decoration of the U.S. Air Force Academy, the discontented rumbings of an open sales on the armed forces. Not on observed. "Military programs aeroid-iculed-a needlews," find deliberate waste. The military profession is derided in some of the so-called best circles of America. Patriotism is considered by definitional profession and controlled and considered by controlled and companies of the controlled and companies and controlled a

Strow-Monthlym Line caser-officer interesting the caser-officer interests should find their commitment to meet U.S. world responsibilities: "dead was form of militations," was disknown, they must "recognize that straw-man up has was for what it is." Nixon then set up has was for what it is." Nixon then set up has was for what it is." Nixon then set up has was for what it is. When the first exportes and the parallel straw men. "The skeptice and the seasof up the first exportes and the seasof up the said debalfielly." These men would have swipped better. And they would have supple better. When the said straw is not the said straw is not the said straw in the said was the said straw in the

behind." This school of thought, Nixon maintained, "holds that the road to understanding with the Soviet Union and Communist China lies through a downgrading of our own alliances and what amounts to unilateral reduction of our arms in order to demonstrate our good faith," That, he said, is an "isolationist" view. The U.S., he insisted, cannot become "a dropout in assuming the responsibility for defending peace and freedom in the world." Neither, he added, can the U.S. go it alone. "We must revitalize our alliances, not abandon them," he declared. "We must rule out unilateral disarmament, because in the real world it won't work."

Like the Old Nixon. There are indeed neo-isolationists in the U.S. who would irresponsibly withdraw American power and influence from everywhere

on the globe regardless of the consecuences. But these are not really sigmilicant in the national debate, and they extensive should not be confused with 'deepties,' who question L'S, policy, Readvocate neither unilateral disarramenta nor withdrawal from foreign alliances. They merely raise the questions of what are the proper tactes and what is the barrante cost of the property of the barrante cost of helping maintain world order.

A day before Nixon's speech, Harvard's John Kenneth Galbraith, testifying before a joint congressional subcommittee, rather fantastically proposed nationalization of any company doing more than 75% of its business with the Department of Defense. But he plainly insisted: "I am not a supporter of unilateral disarmament."* Congressmen have called for reduction of U.S. troop commitments in Europe, none have seriously suggested that NATO or any other U.S. military alliance be dismantled. Less than three months ago, Senator J. William Fulbright accused Defense Secretary Melvin Laird of using a "technique of fear." Fulbright has given aid and comfort to neo-isolationists at various times, but he does not advocate unilateral disarmament or the breakup of U.S. alliances. The dominant new mood in Congress is one of

Galbrath got his usual maximum mileage out of his views on the military. He tried set them forth in the lead article in the June Hurrar Then he entered the Hurper's article in the subcommittee-hearing record, along with its testimony last week the utifice also appeared as a hook. 72 pages in hard cover for \$195.95 pages in paperfact for 6th.

soher questioning, and Nixon's intemperate remarks hit the wrong note.

Much congressional reaction was bitter, and it seemed evident that he had hardened opposition to his Safeguard ABM plan into the bargain. Said Senator James Pearson, a Kansas Republican and an ABM toe: "I disagree with the President. I don't think it's isolationism to oppose excessive military spending." Some Democratic Senators were more abrupt. Said Albert Gore of Tennessee: "It sounded like the old Nixon I used to know." But Nixon won support from Louisiana's Russell Long and Virginia's Harry Byrd Jr. Noted Byrd. "I think he said some things which needed to be said."

Disservice, Nixon's first aim in making the speech was to quiet criticism of the military. In that, he obviously failed, A few of his own staff admitted privately afterward that some of Nixon's language was unfortunate. But he was concerned that if this criticism continues. the U.S military in a few years may become as weak as was the pre-World War II peacetime Army. While that seems unlikely, the President at least put himself and his Administration on the record. Finally, looking abroad. Nixon wanted to convince Hanoi, Peking, Moscow and the Viet Cong that the U.S. has not been so enfeebled by doubt that it will accept any terms in the Paris negotiations in order to get out of Viet Nam. There was no mistaking the President's hard line; it remains to he seen whether he succeeded in impressing it upon the Communists

At home, however, by lumping all his critics together with the simplistic tag of isolationist, the President did them an injustice and his own cause a disservice as well.



THE PRESIDENT SPEAKING AT AIR FORCE ACADEMY
Hitting precisely the wrong note.

YOUTH: THE JEREMIADS OF JUNE

UNDER the late apring sun a potima of alam overlays the American campus. Nearly all the thetoric is coming from duly invited commencement speakers rather than protest leadres. The marching fees belong not to receiving college and graduate degrees this month. Some of the most violent students have been expelled, suspended, imprisoned or pearled. Here and there provides the property of the property of the finance, but with little tangible effect. It looks like peace. In reality, the pre-

VIET-NAM I THE DRAFTI A.B.M. ICHEMICALWAR AMERICA THE INSANE

LONELY PROTESTER AT BEADLE COLLEGE
At best, a fragile truce.

vailing condition is a most fragile truce. By every index, students' dissent and frustration over the status quo are more widespread than ever. A pell in the current Fortrus concludes that 12.8% hold political views that classify concludes that classify the control of a pell control of the control of the

Republican Congressman William Stepublican Congressman our of universities to report last week: "Vast numbers of bright, dedicated, sincere students are just as deeply disturbed as the so-called revolutionaries. The difference is that they have not yet rejected completely the view that they should not resort to yieldene."

After interviewing students, faculty

members and administrators across the country, TIME correspondents support Steiger's conclusions. Said Columbia Law Professor Michael Sovern: "The mood is sullen. Students are not happy. They have had a taste of influence and power and they have not accomplished much." Like other campus elders. Sovern fears that next year could be worse-and that new violence could invite a "real crackdown." Father Edwin Quain, acting president of Georgetown University in Washington, notes that "the freshmen are much more radical than the seniors, and I'm told that the high school students coming up are

even more so. Parenthood Renounced. Students themselves are for the most part unimpressed with internal changes at many universities. Even where adroit maneuvering avoided tough police action against dissidents, as at the University of Chicago, there is bitterness. Roger Black, editor of the Chicago undergraduate paper Maroon, said last week that the "tight-lipped, moralistic and adamant" attitude of administrators and senior professors has "planted very deep seeds of demoralization." Looking beyond the campus, many students are even more distressed. Apparent progress in negotiations over Viet Nam has been too slight to eliminate the war issue. Military spending, poverty, the skein of racial problems-and frequently the basic values of U.S. society-draw more and more criticism. Stephanie Mills, 20, of Mills College in Oakland, Calif., concludes that the only "humane" thing she could do was to avoid bearing children. Miss Mills is no dropped-out radical; she is her class valedictorian, and renounced parenthood in a commencement speech entitled "The Future Is a Cruel Hoax.

How can adult society respond? Richard Nixon attempted an answer last week at General Beadle State College* in Madison, S. Dak., a tranquil campus that presented little risk of embarrassing disruption, though a few student protesters did in fact stage a peaceful minidemonstration. The President praised youth's quest for honesty in public and private life. He defended the right to peaceful dissent. But he came down hard on radicals who prefer coercion to persuasion and on faculty sympathizers who "should know better. Said Nixon: "It should be self-evident that this sort of self-righteous moral arrogance has no place in a free community. It denies the most fundamental of

After turning down a number of other campus invitations. Nison announced the Beadle visit a month ago. He had intended to speak at Ohio Nate four days later but had to cancel the date because of his trip to Midway. Beadle, with 1,342 students, is named for William Henry Harrison Beadle, a lawyer and engineer who served as a Civil Wai brigader and later became the college's president.

all the values we hold: respect for the rights of others." Arguing against the rationate of violence, he observed: "Avenues of peaceful change do exist. Those who can make a persuasive case for changes they want can achieve them."

Civics Lesson. In large part, Nixon's speech was a reasoned defense against those who profess to see something unwholesome in the American system. "The structure of our laws has rested from the beginning on a foundation of moral purpose," he told the new moralists. The President also taught a fundamental civics lesson: "The right to participate in public decisions carries with it the duty to abide by those decisions when reached, recognizing that no one can have his own way all the time." What he failed to emphasize was that the realities of economic and political power sometimes dilute these principles. He did not really contront the challenge of those who have shown spe-

cifically where the system fails. Although he said things that needed saying-and the majority of Americans doubtless found his arguments unexceptionable-Nixon probably won few converts from the ranks of the disaffected. Hard-core radicals, such as the Marxist-oriented Students for a Democratic Society (estimated nationwide membership: 6,000), for example, reject all such rational formulations. Negroes know that agitation in the '50s and '60s has prompted more progress than did reasoned argument. Test cases frequently come from broken laws. At many universities in the past two years. it was clear that authorities agreed to reforms after, rather than before, upheavals. Thus it should not be surprising that the alienated young occasionally carry this approach to irrational extremes, ignoring that point on the violence scale where protest evokes reaction and repression, not reform.

Bite Them, The crucial question is whether most students can be kept from following the extremists. Bub Powell, president of the National Student Association, is pessimistic: "Attempts at persuading the university administrations to change over the years have, by and large, failed. The sentiment now growing very rapidly that the only way

There is no longer any doubt that a large percentage of the nation's students will remain resiless and questing for an indefinite period. Many will follow the advice of Barbara Ward, the English economic journalist, who exhorted University of Pennylsvatha stupout to determine that you are going to give them [public officials] no peace. I say, go out, but them!"

If the biting is going to be primarily intellectual and political rather than physical and destructive, there must be some reasonable prospect that valid demands will be met. Yet it seems more and more doubtful that the country is in any mood for further concessions. Besides, a number of university faculties and student bodies are internally divided to the point of polarization. The failure of many universities to cope with unrest has served as an invitation to political intervention.

First in the statehouses, and now in Congress, legislators have been tumbling over each other to declaim, investigate and write bills (see EDUCATION). Some measures, such as those banning firearms from campuses, are unexceptionable. Others, seeking to regulate behavior, are questionable In Congress, a House Internal Security subcommittee is investigating campus disorders, and the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee begins its hearings this week. Their main consideration is subversive influences. A House Education and Labor subcommittee last week sought to write a bill that would pressure universities to enact strict standards of behavior

In terms of police power, outright rebellion on campuses and doubtless be controlled. As Nixon said last week, bellion on campuses and the controlled. As Nixon said last week the controlled of the controlled of the power to strike back it need be, and to prevail. That reassurance is net very comforting. More perinent, perhaps, is the esset raised last week by Class the controlled of the controlled of the Ferr tast long; she said. Those who lead us have viewed politics as the art of the possible. The challenge that faces them—and us—now as to practice police.

ARMED FORCES

The Mutineers

One morning last October, 27 prisoners at the Presidio stockade in San Francisco disrupted roll call by staging a sitdown demonstration. The inmates said they were protesting against the action of a guard, who had needlessly shotgunned a suicidal prisoner trying to escape. They also complained of the unsanitary conditions of the stockade. The Army charged the 27 men with mutiny, and at the first of a series of courtsmartial, three of them received sentences of up to 16 years (TIME, Feb. 21). There was an immediate public outery at the harsh sentences, which were subsequently reduced to two years by the Army Judge Advocate

Since then, five more to the accused have received penalties ranging from mine months to six sears. Last week at Fort Ord. Calif., receive others were fort Ord. Calif., receive others were please during the 35-day trial that the men were emotionally disturbed by the shooting of their fellow pronon: These were sentenced to sux to 15 months at were sentenced to sux to 15 months at constitution of the shooting of their fellow pronon: The were sentenced to sux to 15 months at constitution of the shooting of the shooting the shooting of the shooting the shooting of the series of the state of the shooting of the series of the shooting the shooting the shooting of the series of the shooting t

CONGRESS: THE LONG, SLACK SEASON

THERE are few union members in Congress, but the legislators this year have realized labor's old dream of far more pay for much less work. Since raising their annual salaries from \$30,000 to \$42,500 early in the session, they have produced virtually no significant legislation. The Senate met only twice last week. House leaders privately admit that they are scrounging for enough official business to keep the lower chamber functioning three days a week. Representative Otis Pike of New York told constituents in a recent newsletter: "Congress as a legislative operation has almost ceased to exist."

The feeling is widely shared on Capitol Hill. Everett Dirksen, the Senate Republican leader, acknowledges: "There's no use highline about a Nothing has

no use higgling about a Nothing has execute manuse

SPEAKER McCORMACK

Democratic Study Group, a liberal co-

buck. Congress has traditionally acted

on the principle that slack is beautiful.

And the fact is that during nearly 40

years dominated for the most part by ac-

tivist, innovative Presidents, Congress

grew accustomed to reacting to executive

initiatives rather than originating major

legislation. During the relatively qui-

escent Eisenhower years. Sam Rayburn

in the House and Lyndon Johnson in

the Senate provided strong party lead-

ership, giving the opposition Democrats

a measure of cohesion and guidance.

Speaker John McCormack and Senate

Leader Mike Mansfield offer no com-

parable direction today. Illinois Dem-

ocrat Roman Pucinski complains "The

Speaker never intended to be the party

leader, and he doesn't seek it. The D S G

MAJORITY LEADER MANSFIELD

been going on." With the session well into visions month and the government's new fiscal year beginning July 1, the Senta's principal accomplishment has been to approve the Nuclear Nonproliferation Freaty—a price of business left over from last year. The House has done fittle except to process a few routine appropriations measures, none of which has yet come to the Sentate House has yet have to the Sentate House has yet have to the Sentate House has yet have held the hadron has yet have the head of the House has had yet ha

Mr. Som and LBJ. Many an Captiol Hill. Including some Republicans, attribute the dearth of activity to the Administration, I has been also to formost a Sughishire program and exrequests that it has made. The charge is at least partly accurate. Even before ranguration Day; it was clear that Richard Nixon intended to hold down expenditures—and hence any new domestic programs—where possible, and to experience the programs—where possible, and to

To assign much of the blame to the White House, however, is to pass the

Beneath the torpor, untapped power.

the session well alition| has fallen apart. The Southern blue is without a leader. A legislative vac-

uum is developing Historic Obligation. More aggressive members of Congress, many of them youngish liberals, want Capitol Hill to act more vigorously on urban ills, poverty, pollution of the environment, education and health services, and many other problems. For activist Democrats. particularly, a cautious Republican Administration seemed to offer an opportunity to make both an independent record and political points. When he ousted Louisiana's Russell Long as Senate Majority Whip in January, Ted Kennedy talked of the Democrats' "obligation to the country to present the hest possible programs in keeping with our historic role as the party of prog-ress and change." No such programs No such programs have materialized. Kennedy's viewpoint has considerable support, but not among the majority of committee chairmen. who retain much of the legislative power. One Democratic chairman, Carl Perkins of the House Education and Labor Committee, attempted to take an independent stand on an important education bill, extending the authorization for federal assistance from two years to five. A coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats easily defeated the move.

Dirken observes that Congress lacks not only White House guidance but a sense of popular direction. "A lot of people," says he. "don't seem to know whether they want anything from Congress right now on not." Until they find out, Republicans are generally content to wair on the President, while many Democrats are satisfied to defend existing domestic programs.

On Tranquilizers. Even when Nixon has made specific recommendations. Congress has been slow to move. He has proposed a social security benefit increase and a fiscal package that includes retention of the income tax surcharge. He has sent up measures on law enforcement, pornography control, Selective Service reform, foreign aid, Post Office reorganization and Electoral College revision. Some of these and other proposals came relatively late, after Congress' Easter recess in April, and are just getting into the committee machinery. But on the social security issue. House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills has already let it be known that Nixon's bill is too small and that the whole question should be deferred until next year.

Although Republican Representative Silvio Conte of Massachusetts may be correct when he says that "the boys act now as if they've been on tranquilizers," there is some ferment beneath the surface. In the House, liberal Democrats are attempting to make their party caucus a policymaking body. If they are successful, the liberals would substitute the caucus for the nominal leadership as the party's principal instrument of navigation. On the senior Democratic level, there is quiet talk of organizing a Senate-House leadership group that would attempt to set the party's course for both hodies. For the time being, informal fortnightly meetings are contemplated

In the Senate, Democratic and Republican liberals have been filling the void by raising fundamental questions on military tacties in Viet Nam, overseas commitments generally, arms procurement and domestic priorities. This activity does not directly produce much legislation, but George McGovern's hunger investigation did help pressure the White House into formulating a much broader food-distribution program for the poor than had previously been envisioned. Vigorous Senate opposition to the anti-ballistic missile system forced the Administration to overhaul the plan and is now delaying approval of the new proposal. Torpid and disorganized as it seems. Congress nonetheless retains considerable power-far more, in fact, than some of its own senior members are willing to exercise.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sayonara, Okinawa

In the 24 years since U.S. troops wrested Okinawa from Japan at a cost of 12,500 American lives, the 60-milelong island in the East China Sea has been built up as the Pentagon's "Keystone of the Pacific," its most vital staging area for operations from Korea to Viet Nam. A bustling bastion just 500 miles southeast of Shanghai, it is honevcombed with 91 military installations accommodating 45,000 U.S. troops It is also, however, a growing threat to harmonious U.S.-Japanese relations. A quarter-century after the war, the continued rule of 1,000,000 citizens of Okinawa and the 140 other islands of the Ryukvu chain by a U.S. military commander is a constant source of irritation to both the islanders and the Japanese. Both want political control of the chain returned to Tokyo.

Burning Issue. The U.S. presence, and its use of the island as an operations have for Viet Nam, have provided untrauntomalist rights and anti-American leffists in Japan with a burning against the pro-U.S. government of the pro-U.S. government U.S. approached the difficult decision. As Japan's Foreign Minister visited the White House to open formal talks on reversion, the Nixon Administration let it be known that it will soon move to return Okanava and the other Kryskyss

Formal announcement of the decision is expected in November, when Sato visits Washington. Reversion will probably come in 1972. The U.S. is prepared to agree to remove all nuclear weapons and its force of 20 B-52 bombers from the island. In addition, Washington is ex-

with Japan before launching combat operations against any other Asian nation from Okinawa bases. This agreement, satisfactory to Tokyo, would allow continued U.S. military operations on the island, but under the same restrictions now imposed on the 148 U.S. bases in Japan itself.

Dynamite Defused, These U.S. concessions are probably essential to continuation of the U.S.-Japan Security Pact, a prime target for Sato's extremist opposition. It becomes subject to renegotiation for the first time next year. The hope in both capitals is that. by defusing Okinawa's potential as political dynamite in Japan, Sato will retain enough public support to avoid reopening negotiations. If neither nation demands new talks, the pact will continue automatically. Without such a compromise, it is doubtful if either the Sato regime or a successor could weather home-front outrage and maintain friendly relations with the U.S.

prospect of long Okinson. Strategically, however, removal of nuclear weapcally, however, removal of nuclear weapons and bombers should have little effect on overalt U.S. capability. He four Polaris submarines and five Navy auteralt carriers now in the area, plus auclear-armed planes in South Korae could take up clear-armed planes in South Korae vould take up to the slace. A logical pullwask position be slace. A logical pullwask position troops would be Guam. a U.S. possessoun 1,400 miles couldness of Okinson.

Meanwhile. Washington has little choice but to say susonara. Okinawa. Il the U.S. were to cling to the island, it might produce an anti-American regime in Tokyo and destroy the Security Treaty with Japan. That would represent a far greater loss than Okinawa for the long-term security of Asia.



OKINAWAN STUDENTS STORMING U.S. AIRBASE A constant source of irritation.

DEFENSE

ABM Compromise

During much of this year's fractious debate over the Nixon Administration's Safeguard anti-ballistic missel proposal, there have been hints of a compromise that might win over just enough Senate votes to keep the project going Now the shape of that concession is becoming allows.

Some of Safeguard's most adamant opponents accept the need for continuing research and development in the pose is a binding decision this year -and the appropriations supporting it -to manufacture and deploy the missiles. Thus one possible way out of the virtual deadlock in the Senate is to go ahead with the basic program while deferring judgment on actual emplacement of the missiles. Massachusetts Republican Edward Brooke began circulating a written proposal to this effect three weeks ago. Last week Republican Whip Hugh Scott said in a press conference that he saw "no objection" coming from the Administration. Equally significant was a recent speech by New Hampshire Democrat Thomas McIntyre, chairman of the Armed Services subcommittee on research and development. He raised the possibility of concentrating effort for the time being on the Safeguard components that need the most work. the radars and computer systems.

Deferred Vote. Although details remain to be worked out, an agreement along these lines would probably allow the Pertagent or acquire the first two missiles sites, in Montana and North Dascha, and intail two sets of redars—Perimeter-Acquisition Route and other properties of the control of t

continues elsewhere.

Under this scheme, a final vote on installing the missiles themselves could be deferred until next year without cashing agmificant delay in the present Safeguard schedule. The first two sites the property of the property o

The Administration, of course, is giving no public sign of interest in a compromise. It prefers to convey the impression that it can get the present proposal through the Senate: the House would then be no problem. Enough hints are being passed, however, to indicate that at the right moment in the next month the proposal proposal proteed of the proposal proposal proteed of the proposal proteed of the proposal proteed of the pro-



Again, the inexplicable happened.

HIGH SEAS

Disaster by Moonlight

On the eve of a SEATO naval exercise dubbed "Sea Spirit." Captain John P. Stevenson, skipper of the Australian aircraft carrier H.M.-A.S. Meitralian aircraft carrier H.M.-A.S. Meitralian experiments of the company of the with several allied naval officers. Talk turned to the somber subject of collision. Five years earlier, Methourne had steed into an Australian destroyer, and 82 hands had been lost. Stevenson saud amother such mishap involving the fleet's lagship. Four nights later, his fears became fact.

Cruising on a calm and brightly moon: In South China Sea last week during the naval exercise, the 16,000-00 Med-hourier ipped into the U.S.S. Frank. E. Exum. 24-year-old, 2,200-000 American destroyer. Within five to a 25-20-000 American destroyer. Within five to 45-20-000 American destroyer. A 25-20-000 American destroye

The Evans was the third U.S., warship involved in a major accident at sea this year. On Jan, 14, a series of explosions aboard the nuclear aircraft carrier U.S.S. Enterprise killed 28 men as the giant ship conducted training exercises near Hawaii. Last month, fire killed four men aboard U.S.S. King, a guided missile frigate stationed in the Tonkin Giff.

Complete details of the latest disaster will not become known until after a joint Australian-American investigation. But the survivors meanwhile have

begun to reconstruct a saga of heroism and horror.

At 3:10 a.m., June 3, Evans was posted with four other destroyers as an antisubmarine net 3,000 to 10,000 yards off the bow of Melbourne. The carrier was scheduled to begin air operations at 3:30 a.m., and ordered Evans to change her position to 1,000 yards astern. In this station, the destroyer could rescue any fliers who hit the water. Although such close-in maneuvering is necessarily hazardous, Evans had made similar position changes earlier in the exercises without mishap. This time, inexplicably, the destroyer cruised right into the path of the massive carrier. The heavy steel prow of Melhourne shredded through the port side of Evans like a pair of tin shears.

Goal Rescue. Snapped electrical cases with the Sami decks, shooting off sparks. Hunks of metal gouged from the destroyer were welded to Methourne's superstructure by the intense fractional heat of the granding crash. In the stern, Evans' crewmost of whom were askepn in their hunks, were tossed about by the fourth states of the state of the s

As the stern portion of Levans scraped along the starboard side of Melbourne, the carrier's crew sprang to action. One Australian sailor leaped about Evan's stern, and was soon followed by many others. They managed to lash Evans' 196-foot-long stern section to Melbourne long enough for dozens of stranded U.S. sailors to be lifted to the carried to the Australian seamen coully rescued their contrades. Sailors who had leaped from Evans into the water were soon

searched out and rescued, some of them by the carrier's helicopter, others by whaleboats.

Commander Albert S. McLemore. Fearars' skipper, was one of the last swimmers to be rescued. Aboard the Australian carrier, the American skipper made his way to the bridge for an emotional meeting with Stevenson. Later McLemore recalled: "We met about his way to the bridge for an emotional meeting with Stevenson. Later McLemore recalled: "We met about his work of the warm of the warme point."

Troublesome Lady. Crewmen aboard the Australian carrier could hardly be faulted for fearing that their ship is jinxed. Although the first indications are that the accident was the fault of Evans. Melhourne's record is replete with mishaps. Designed as a British warship during World War II, the ship soon acquired the title of "Troublesome Lady." Built to withstand North Atlantic cold, it became an oven in the warm waters off Australia. Despite air conditioning, engine-room temperatures a year in Australia, the catapult system developed a structural defect that grounded the carrier's aircraft for seven months. Two years later, the ship had to drop out of SEATO exercises when its boilers became overstrained. Until last week, the worst mishap had occurred in 1964. Freshly fitted and equipped, Melhourne went to sea and collided with H.M.A.S. Voyager. (This collision was determined later to have been the destroyer's fault.) The repairs cost a quarter of a million dollars. Four months ago, after a year at dockside and a refitting that cost more than \$8 million, Melhourne was scraped by a Japanese freighter, crushing a gun platform and demolishing a 40-mm. cannon.

ANNIVERSARIES

Tunes of Glory

Ramrod-stiff but with the old warrior's slow, halting gait, General of the Army Omar Bradley, 76, walked across the Normandy field, gazing somberly upon the long, orderly rows of white crosses that mark the American cemetery near Saint-Laurent-sur-Mer. From Cherbourg to Le Havre, thousands of survivors of the Allied forces returned to the Continent last week to recall their roles on D-day, a quarter of a century ago. Lord Lovat, the commando leader, and General Sir Richard Gale, the British airborne commander, were back in uniform to commemorate the day. U.S. General James ('Jumpin' Jim") Gavin, now a corporate executive and persistent Viet Nam critic, chose to sit quietly in his car and greet fellow paratroopers from his old 82nd and the 101st Airborne divisions.

There was a brief ceremony at Bayeux, the cathedral town about five miles inland that served as U.S. headquarters during the first weeks after the invasion. Later, a forch was lighted at Ulah Beach, where the 4th Division had landed, and a military band played the national anthems of the U.S., Britain, France, Canada, The Netherlands, Bel.

gium and Norway.



BRADLEY AT D.DAY OBSERVANCE IN CARENTAN, FRANCE Enduring the second longest day.

VIOLENCE

Angry Heritage

Americans are among the worlds most volatile and law-breaking people, yet their government is one of the stablest. For nearly three centures, this particular that the stablest is the people of the people of the stablest people of the stablest people of the stablest people of the stablest people of the people of the people of the stablest peop

The group was a task force appointed by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. The commission itself was established by Lyndon Johnson a year ago, shortly after the assussination of Santor Robert F. Kennedy. The task force, which is used its meticulously researched 350,000-word report on the anniversary of Kennedy's death, examined the historical precedents and foreign parallels of contemporary violence in America.

"Americans have always been a violent people," the scholars found, Interest groups have typically used force
both for protection and to gain their
ends, but few Americans recall their hertage of violence. The civic-shook image
of America as a Promised Land, the
task force lamented, has obscured in
most citizens' minds the fact that their
country's history is littered with illegal

acts of violence.

Two Responses. The report compared home-bred civil disturbances and those in 84 other countries, measured on a complex scale. On that scale, despite the American penchant for violence, the U.S. ranked below the midpoint, at 46th, in the severity of collective wrath. "Despite its frequency," the group said, civil strife in the United States has taken much less disruptive forms than in many non-Western and some Western countries. The nation has experienced no internal wars since the Civil War and almost none of the chronic revolutionary conspiracy and terrorism that plague dozens of other nations

Sittl, the scholars discovered that the level of violence has persisted in the U.S., while in other countries it has shated with the march of industrialization. "The first and obvious answer," they suggested, "is that yowe fundamental grievances in the United States have not lygone unresolved, but have intensited in recent years." If violence is not you will be only from the property of the prop

Political Scientist Ted Robert Gurr of Princeton, one of the editors of last week's report, said that if he had to begin the study again, he would devote more attention to individual violence. On the day that Gurr's report was released, police across the country recorded about 40 murders and 770 cases of aggravated assault.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Not So Deadly

In the anguished days immediately following the first great leak from Union Oil Company's well in Santa Barbara Channel, scientists warned that animal and plant life in and around the affected was freezed was followed by the compact, their dire predictions, seem to have been overstaded a study conducted by a team of the versity of California researchers disclose what the initial Fears were exaggerated. As one researcher asys: "The most see followed the conduction of the condu

When the well first blew out, the problem was certainly serious. Hundreds of birds died in the sepia goo. Lobsters, clams, mussels, fish and untold other small ocean creatures were destroyed. But where scientists, the press and an outraged public erred was in the assumption that the destruction would continue. Dr. Carl Hubbs, professor emeritus of marine biology at Scripps Institution of Oceanography, stated flatly at the time that the channel "will never be quite natural again." Now, four months later, the channel's ecology seems to have been restored to virtually its natural state-although oil seepage continues to smear city beaches.

In making their predictions, some of the scientists harked back to two carlier oil disasters-the wreck of the tanker Tampico off Baia California and the rupture of the Torrey Canyon off the English coast, both of which devastated marine life. While the Tampico carried partially refined and relatively volatile diesel oil, the oil seeping up into Santa Barbara Channel was unrefined crude. which is considerably less lethal. Moreover, the Santa Barbara oil spill was spread over a vast expanse of sea and did not wash up onto the beaches immediately. Much of it lingered on the waves before wind and tide carried it ashore. In the interim, it apparently lost much of its potency. In the case of the Torrey Canyon, the real killers were the chemical detergents used to cleanse the sea, which British experts concluded caused as much as 90% of the damage to plant and animal life. In Santa Barbara, nontoxic dispersal agents were used, and only in carefully regulated amounts

While the new report downgrades the damage done to date, it does not say that the channel will escape unscathed No one knows what the long-range effects on marine life may be as a result of the continuing oil scepage. In any case, it appears that the offensive derricks will be around for decades to come. Last week a presidential panel recommended that drilling on the Union lease site, which has been halted for four months, be resumed. The panel contended that the best way to stop the leak is to exhaust the oil reservoir under Union's platform A-an undertaking that could last 20 years or more.



THE CANDIDATE CAMPAIGNING
Running to the left and right of everybody.

NEW YORK

Mailer for Mayor

He insists that he is serious about it: "I am paying my debt to society. That is why I am running." Indeed. Norman Mailer waxes positively solemn when he talks about his candidacy for mayor of New York. The celebrated author of The Naked and the Dead. more recently of The Armies of the Night. which won him a National Book Award and a Pulitzer Prize, is one of a field of five in next week's Democratic primary. Best known among the others are Robert Wagner, mayor from 1954 until Republican John Lindsay took over in 1966, and Mario Procaccino, the city controller.

Mailer calls himself a "left conservative"—left because he believes the city's problems demand radical answers, conservative because he has little faith in centralized government. Because of this, he explain deadpan. "I am run-every man in the race." He is cautious about the risks of his new calling. "It's very dangerous for your soul to be a politician." he says, "because if you get power it can itead you to predition fost—it is not you derived the man and the problems of the man and the problems of the man and the problems."

Mailer's fascination with politics is long-standing, He offered John Kennedy, lengthy advice in The Presidential Parameter of the Company of

idea is to give the citizens periodic respite from air pollution caused by cars, trucks, buses and other machinery. He calls for a circumferential monoral in Manhattan, which would ease congestion on traffic-crammed city streets. He also suggests that Coney Island

He also suggests that Coney issand be turned into a Las Vegas East, with legalized gambling that would add sizably to the tax revenues. Most of all, however, Mailer has based his campaign on two ideas: that New York City should become a separate 51st state, and that the city ought to be divided into many relatively autonomous neighborhoods.

Neighborhood Power. On the financial side. Mailer argues that the city pays \$14 billion in income taxes to Washington and Albany-but gets back only \$3 billion. If the city were a separate state." it would get to keep a greater proportion of the tax money it exports. What is more, it would be freed from legislative control by the present state government, which is often hostile to city demands. At the same time, says Mailer, if he is elected in November, "a small miracle would have happened. At that moment the city would have declared that it had lost faith in the old ways of solving political problems and that it wished to embark on a new conception of politics.

Then, says Mailer, there would be delegated "some real power to the neighborhoods." This would include "power with their local boards of education.

For a new state to be carried out of one already in existence requires approval of both the old state legislature and the U.S. Conorges. New states, have been created from the territory of older states before. For example, for the control of the control of Viginia in 1792, and West Marier proposes that the first step, following his election, should be a city-wide referendum on the question of statehood for the city.

power to decide about the style and quality and number of the police force they want and are willing to pay for. power over the Department of Sanitation, power over their parks." There could be "vest-pocket campuses" built by students in abandoned buildings, restoring a sense of personal involvement that is lost in the large university campuses. Early in his campaign, blithely exaggerating to dramatize his point. Mailer proclaimed: "We'll have compulsory free love in those neighborhoods that vote for it, and compulsory attendance at church on Sunday in those that vote for that."

Long Odds. Mailer wants above all to restore something of the sense of small-town identity that has become lost in the anonymity of city life. "The energies of the people of New York at pres-

THE CITY

Detroit's Ditto

Most Negro leaders in recent years have been stigmatized as either Uncle Toms or fire-eating militants. As a result, there are few who can work in the upper echelons of white society while retaining their independence and the respect of the blacks on the street. One black leader who has succeeded in that ambivalent role is Frank Ditto, 39, a community organizer of the East Side

The burly, brooding Ditto, who prowls the streets in a dashiki, arouses fear or hatred in many whites. Detroit's police and school officials see him as an irresponsible agitator. However, in the boardroom of New Detroit Inc., the city's branch of the antipoverty Urban

when he was 13. He has been speaking up for the poor and the black since the ghetto of Detroit's inner city. day in 1961 when he left his Chicago taxi-driving job to join a school demonstration. Since then he has been arrested 18 times. He became a community organizer and marched for 155 consecutive days with Dick Gregory in 1964 and 1965 Ditto was called to Detroit just prior to the 1967 riots by a coalition of 36 mainly white Protestant and Catholic churches on the East Side to set up a grass-roots organization. Today, with a staff of five, he operates ESVID on \$65,-

000 a year from local businessmen and churches and has also received a \$50,000 grant from New Detroit.

teen-agers who were elected last year

by 2,700 high school students. PFP of-

ficials serve as liaison with the Detroit

city government, start improvement

Other I-SVID projects include a free

fortnightly newspaper of 3,000 to 5,000

circulation, a planned theater workshop

lbs. of cotton a day in his native Texas

The Call. Ditto was chopping 5(X)

projects and study politics.

and a free employment agency.

Ditto seldom minces his words. Of all the city's legitimate black leaders, he is the most aggressive in presenting grievances against ghetto schools: he is the most strident in denouncing racism. So rough-spoken has he been at times that the city administration has asked New Detroit to curb him. His defenders say that his manner is necessary for his effectiveness. "The white people who work privately with him say he is co-operative and constructive." says the community relations director of one automobile manufacturer. The ministers who brought Ditto to Detroit support his tactics. Says a black former vation Army officer, the Rev Bob Baldwin "We need a thousand Frank Dittos on the East Side."

Significant Force. Ditto's patrol corpsmen, with their militaristic uniforms, are distrusted by many white city authorities. The patrol members, who act tough and often harass cops. do not carry weapons, and on balance have probably done more good than "These are guys who would ordinarily be out on the street drinking wine, breaking bottles and making trou-

ble," says Ditto in their defense. Ditto justifies his involvement in ghetto controversies. "Wherever black people are receiving injustice, that's where I belong," he says. "It a guy on the street is being brutalized by a police officer, that should be my concern. It's the whole goddamned thing of 'don't " By getting involved, Ditget involved." to is molding powerless people into a significant force. Despite the reservations of many whites, the East Side clergymen and the blue-chip board of New Detroit are betting it will be a force for good. Says Baldwin: "We are nobodies. Frank Ditto is a nobody. We must come together at this level-a thousand nobodies



Bringing together a thousand nobodies.

ent have no purchase on their own natural wit and intelligence," he says. "They have no purpose other than to watch with a certain gallows humor the progressive deterioration of their Under Mailer's plan for semiindependent neighborhoods, however, "those energies could begin to work for their deepest and most private and most passionate ideas about the nature of government, the nature of man's relation to his own immediate society."

Mailer's rhetoric is seductive if invstical, but the program he proposes is at best elusive. While it is a reminder of treasured values lost, it is an uncertain guide to their recovery. Many may vote for Mailer nonetheless, if only because he represents an alternative to old approaches that have made the city seem ungovernable. Handicapper Mailer, appraising his chances in race-track argot, accurately considers himself "a 20-1 long shot." On his personal morning line, however, the contender adds with bravura. "Best bet.

Coalition. Ditto sits on a 40-member board with people like Henry Ford and the chairman of General Motors. There, Ditto's words-even if couched in the abrasive patois of the ghetto-are listened to carefully. Says William T. Patrick Jr., New Detroit president: "Frank Ditto's is a valid voice. If Ditto is not there. Henry Ford is missing something."

Ghetto Patrol. Ditto directs the East Side Voice of Independent Detroit (ES-VID), a civic action organization that is the moving force behind a dozen "black pride" projects in the slums. where burned-out shops still define the tury of the 1967 riots. ESVID runs a black-uniformed corps of 126 black youths that patrols the ghetto, escorting people through the crime-ridden streets and protecting threatened store owners -both black and white. The patrols also report alleged instances of police brutality and work to clean up their neighborhood. Ditto organized the Political Education Project (PEP), a junior version of city hall made up of black

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THE WORLD

COMMUNISM: A HOUSE DIVIDED, A FAITH FRAGMENTED

ST. George's Hall in the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow remains a magnificent monument to the glories of the Czars, a sculpted hymn to Russia's historic national interests. The only concession to the Communist era is a giant painting of Lenin in the antechamber. Inside the hall itself, huge chandeliers illumine white marble wall plaques celchrating the knights who won fame and honor in the Czarist army; shaped in stucco are Russian victories from the 15th to the 19th century. It was amid those trappings last week that the Soviet Union, in quest of another, far more difficult victory, assembled some 300 leaders of 75 Communist parties from around the world for the third postwar summit meeting in the history of

the Communist movement. According to the official program, the leaders had come to consider "the most urgent question of our time-the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle at the present stage and the unity of action of Communist and workers' par-ties, of all anti-imperialist forces," But the participants knew the real purpose of the meeting. Alarmed by divisions and defiance within Communism, the Soviet Union was out to salvage as much as possible of its once uncontested primacy over the movement

The task that the Kremlin had undertaken in convening the summit was formidable. There was considerable suspicion that the conference, expected to last two or three weeks, would turn out to be a debacle for the Soviets. Never has the Communist movement been in

greater disarray. Once the undisputed fountainhead of Communism, Moscow has seen many parties grow distant and independent and others turn violently against Soviet primacy. It is not too much to say that the Russians can now command unquestioning obedience only in those countries where their soldiers can enforce it.

Heirs of Lenin

As TIME Correspondent Jerrold Scheeter filed on the eve of the conterence: "The issue is no longer unity. It is finding the lowest common denominator on which there can be limited agreement in the world Communist movement. Observers in Moscow believe that the meeting, and how it is carried off, holds the key to the success or failure of the current Kremlin leadership. Faced with a border war with China. the Soviet Union today must defend its national interests at the same time that it tries to justify them under the banner of 'proletarian internationalism' In Eastern Europe, the invasion of Czechoslovakta has polarized the struggle for economic and political reform within the Communist movement. The diversity of Communist parties, the lack of relevance of the doctrine to specific problems, and the internal pressures-economic, military and political-within the Soviet Union have raised the question: What is Communism today? Some Kremlinologists suggest that the best way to seek an answer is to view the Soviet Union as a latter-day empire seeking to maintain its sway."

Many of Moscow's guests were unabashedly reluctant about their presence, and ready to resist any Soviet attempt to railroad unpalatable resolutions through the assembly Over the conterence hung the shadow of Russia's intervention in Czechoslovakia-a shadow that even the presence of a docile Czechoslovak delegation led by new Parts First Secretary Gustav Husák was unlikely to dispel. Still echoing were the gunshots exchanged by Soviet and Chinese soldiers along the Ussuri River. Then there were the ghosts at the banquet, the men who had refused to come: China's Mao Tse-tung, North Viet Nam's Ho Chi Minh, Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito, Cuba's Fidel Castro. They are the most famous figures of contemporary Communism; their stature. by any measure, dwarfs Russia's present leadership.

Soviet Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev and his co-ruler, Premier Aleksei Kosygin, obviously decided that the summit, for all its perils, was worth the gamble. In the complicated mystique of Communism, the right of the Soviet leaders to rule, in their empire and at home, is intimately linked to their ability to command the obedience and fealty of Communists abroad.

Their legitimacy derives from their role as custodians of the Communist faith. One important measure of their stewardship is the maintenance of Moscow's primacy as the leader of world Communism. The Soviet leaders need a successful conference to prove to their own people that they are indeed the le-





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MCDONNELL DOUGLA

gitimate heirs of Lenn. "To justify oneparty rule." says Kernlinologist Victor Zorza. "you must have an international anaction." The Sowiet leaders also need the international endorsement to reassert for all these reasons. Leo Labedz, editor of Survey, a London quarterly on Communist affairs, calls the conference an attempt to find "an ideological fig leaf" to cover Russia's won self-interest. None of this, of course, would retain the conference of t

The Soviets made careful housekeeping preparations for the conterence. In the Kremlin gardens, the beds of longstemmed tulips and multicolored pansies were especially neatly tended, and squads of plainclothes security agents checked passes and guided the delegates to the huge hall. For several days, Brezhnev. Kosygin and other ranking officials shuttled to Moscow's four airports welcoming arriving delegations. For trusted comrades like East Germany's Walter Ulbricht and Mongolia's Yumzhagin Tsedenbal, there were Slavic smacks on the cheek. There were no kisses for the arriving Rumanians Brezhnev proffered a pertunctory hand to Rumania's independent-minded President and Party Boss Nicolae Ceauşescu, who has often opposed Soviet plans.

Chinese Criticism

The Italians, widels billed as most likely to make trouble, had a hard trip. Their crowded Aerollot 11-62 from Rome was inexplicably delayed several hours. Announcements over the plane's publicaddress system were made in Russian. English, French and German—but not Italian. Someone asked Enrico Berlinguer, who fed the delegation in place ading Luigi Longo, what he thought of the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he may be a supported to the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he remained to the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he was a support of the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he was a support of the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he was a support of the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he was a support of the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he was a support of the linguistic lapse. It's their artinic, he was a support of the lapse and linguistic lapse. It's the linguistic lapse and lapse and lapse and lapse and lapse and lapse artinic lapse and lapse a

At the opening session, Brezhnev sat at the center of the long table of delegates in St. George's Hall, serenely sipping Borzhomi mineral water. Kosygin buried his head in conversation. Parts Ideologue Mikhail Suslov, the man most responsible for the organization of the summit, fidgeted, tapping his red pencil. In his opening speech, Brezhnev merely exhorted the foreign comrades to close ranks behind the Soviet Union hecause "the attention of the whole world is now focused on this hall." The pooling of Communist "efforts was and remains an important condition of success in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle." On that jargon-laden, altruistic note, the deliberations began. The tone changed quickly; the jargon remained, but the altruism gave way to acrimony

That the summit was taking place at all was no small achievement for the Russians. As long ago as 1962, Nikita Khrushchev had conceived the idea of convening the leaders of the world Com-



BREZHNEV GREETING HUSÁK



WITH GOMULKA



BUSSING MONGOLIA'S TSEDENBAL Seeking the lowest common denominator.

munist parties. Already China was vigorously contesting Russia's claim to primacy and hitting the Kremlin where it hurt-on points of theology. On one level. Khrushchev's espousal of the principle of "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist nations was a sellout, said Peking's theoreticians: his emphasis on more consumer goods for ordinary Russtans was "revisionism" of the kind that could only destroy the spartan muscle that a revolutionary society needed. One good charge of heresy deserved another. Khrushchev felt, and his aim was nothing less than a Communist Council of Frent to read the Chinese out of the world movement, excommunicate them from the Red fraternity. But what real-Is mattered was Mao's demand that Russia's immense military and economic power should be used not merely to further Soviet national interests but to promote the cause of world revolution. The Soviets' power should be shared, Mao said, with other Communist nations, notably China, so that they might build up their own strength and challenge the imperialist torces-even at the risk of war.

Prague Detour

Other Communist parties wanted mo part of the Sno-Soviet quarrel, and Khrishchev never got his summit because the source of the

The initial preparatory meeting, held in Budapest in February 1968, ended on an ominous note as the Rumanians. on orders from Ceausescu, walked out because they were criticized for not following the Soviet line of condemning Israel. An infinitely greater disruption came a few months later, when the torces of five Warsaw Pact nations, led by the Soviet Union, crashed into Czechoslovakia. Russia only outraged the majority of foreign Communists by stamping out a liberal experiment with which they sympathized and one that could have helped them win votes in the free world. At the same time, Russia once again ground under the tank treads one of Communism's dearest dogmas: Socialism brings everlasting peace among Socialist nations.

Foreign Communist reaction was an indication of both the Sowiet Union's wanning authority and the villainy of the deed. Twelve years earlier, in the much bloodier suppression of the Hungarian uprising, nearly every Communist Party in the world had supported the Soviet action. This time every major foreign party expressed disapproval, ranging from violent protest (Italy, Sweden,

THE WORLD'S COMMUNIST PARTIES

Status: Ruling 14), ** Opposition(35), X Outlawed 39

Orientation: A Moscow(39), * Peking 5. Split 30. A Independent or neutral 14

Attending Summit: * Delegate 671, * Observer 2.

Lesatho, Puerta Rico, San Marino, West Berlin and two others also attending

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SOUTH AFRICA	×	.50	2	-5
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SUDAN	×	1000	2	-8
SWEDEN		00		@
SWITZERLAND	**	1 100	23	-8
SYRIA	×	.00	4	-8
THAILAND	×	100	*	
TUNISIA	×	100	2	-8
TURKEY	×	1.50	2	-8
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Yugoslavia) to distaste tempered by expediency (France and Cuba). Even Rumania, a member of the Warsaw Pact, though it did not take part in the invasion, censured the action. Only insignificant parties that depend on the Sowiet dole (such as those in the U.S. and most in Latin America and the Middle East) endorsed the most.

Because of the uproar, the conference originally set for November 1968, had to be rescheduled for May 1969; it was then postponed again to last week. One indication of the magnitude of the disagreement was the formulation of the working document for the conference. At Soviet instigation, a joint draft was drawn up by a committee of eight parties and submitted to a preparatory session attended by 65 parties in Budapest last February. Other parties offered some 300 amendments, at least 100 of which were incorporated in the text. In order to hold a conference at all, the Soviets had to scratch out the old claim, reaffirmed by the 1960 world conference. that they were the leaders of the world Communist movement. Further, they had to delete any critical reference to China or any wording that could be construed as approval of the invasion of Czechoslovakia

Socialist Commonwealth

Despite their exclusion from the agenda, it was plain that China and Czechoslovakia were the real issues at the . conference. On both, the Russians had tried to cover their positions in advance. Moscow propagandists a month ago performed their own unilateral excommunication of China by pronouncing that Mao's party now had "nothing in common with international Communism" and was merely the apparatus of a "military clique" ruling China and masquerading as Communists. Since the shooting on the Ussuri River last March, the Russians have been trying to enlist the sympathy of foreign parties and the world by saying that Russia is not only defending its Far Eastern borders but also holding back the Maoist vellow peril that threatens humanity. For the Russians, who have so long regarded themselves as the providers of aid and arms to other Communist countries, the response has been deeply disappointing. Requests for token military units or even observers to come to Siberia to join the Red Army in its vigil on the long, lonely border have reportedly been refused. No other Communists want to be caught in the thrashings of the two giants.

Besides a condemnation of China, Russia has something else that it would dearly love to extract from the delegates. That is an endorsement of the principle of limited sovereignty as expressed in the Brezhnev Dectrine. As a justification for the invasion of Czechosche Company of the Czechosche Carlon of the Czechosche Czechosche



tervene in the affairs of another member whenever the purity and primacy of socialism are endangered in that country. Foreign Communists who feel most threatened by the policy, notably the Rumanians and Yugoslavs, fear that the Soviets will use the doctrine not only to keep any socialist country from defecting to the Western camp, but also to enforce their own brand of political orthodoxy. As Lumea, the Rumanian foreign-news weekly, declared: "Limited sovereignty makes no more sense than limited honesty.

Aware of the opposition, the Soviets enlisted support for the doctrine from its first victims. Shortly before leaving for Moscow, Czechoslovak Party First Secretary Gustav Husák, who in April replaced Alexander Dubček, declared that anti-Communist and anti-Soviet instigations" had justified the intervention of Czechoslovakia's Warsaw Pact neighbors. In Moscow, Husák, accompanied by new hard-line officials who only the week before had accomplished a purge of most of the prominent liberals on the Czechoslovak Central Committee, pleaded with the Italians and other foreign Communists not to discuss the Czechoslovakia issue in the conference.

His request was likely to go unhonored, if for no other reason than that the Italian Communists, who have great hopes for doing well in the next general elections, fear the influence that the Brezhnev Doctrine would have on Italian voters. They can foresee their opponents' campaign slogan: "Put the Communists in power and the Red army will keep them there!"

First Controversy

The conference had hardly got under way when the ground rules were shattered and the fumes of controversy began to leak to the outside world. The opening speaker on the second day was a delegate from Paraguay, who launched an attack on the Chinese. The first nasty epithet was scarcely out of his mouth before Rumania's Ceausescu was scribbling a reply on the notepad in front of him and demanding the floor. The Rumanians had made clear that they would attend the summit only on the understanding that the internal affairs of any Communist Party, present or absent, would not be discussed

When the Paraguayan finished, Ceausescu broke in to issue a blunt, 500word warning that the discussion was taking an unwelcome and unwise turn. "To our regret, in today's speech by the representative of the Communist Party of Paraguay, attacks and condemnations were included against one party that is not attending the conference. We consider that if other parties follow this procedure, this will lead to a course fraught with danger for the success of our conference," he said. Undeterred, Polish First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka resumed the Sovietorchestrated attack on the Chinese: "The principles of internationalism have been betrayed by the present leaders of the

Communist Party of China, who have, from positions of anti-Soviet nationalism and great-power chauvinism, violated the solidarity of the international Communist movement.

The next day Brezhney added the Soviet voice to the anti-Chinese chorus. In a bitter speech the Soviet party boss warned that the Chinese were preparing to start a war and charged that "the damage caused by the breakaway activities of Peking to the common cause of Communists cannot be underestimated." Said he: "The practical activities of Peking in the international arena more and more convince us of the fact that China has actually broken with proletarian internationalism and lost its class Socialist content." It sounded as if the Soviets had decided after all to press on with their original plans to excommunicate the Chinese from the movement.



BERLINGUER No Italian on the plane.

But such a move was certain to lead in the conference to heated debates and perhaps even walkouts and further divisions within world Communism As a myth and a generalized faith.

Marxism has proved remarkably durable, partly because it has been interpreted and stretched so broadly that widely different political movements can and do invoke it (see TIME ESSAY, page 35). In its specific applications, the faith is hopelessly split. Within little more than a decade. Communism has undergone a great schism (Moscow v. Peking), experienced an abortive reformation (Dubček's Czechoslovakia). and developed a plethora of protestant sects (Yugoslavia and Rumania, among others). The once vaunted and feared unity of Communism has shattered into a bewildering, quarrelsome, logic- and dogma-defying set of parties.

Mirroring the larger schisms within Communism, the individual parties have divided, subdivided and often split into opposing parties. The Australian and Israeli Communists are divided into two parties. The Swedes, Indians, and Greeks all are split three ways. Labedz has propounded a rule that Communist politics are complicated in inverse proportion to the party's importance in the country"; thus the Ceylonese Communists, who number only 2,300, have proliferated into eight discernible factions.

The Four Variants

In the squabbling, all sense is turned upside down. By any measure, Yugoslavia is as "revisionist" as a Red state can be; yet China, keeper of the purist faith, is now making some indirect conciliatory gestures toward Tito. Even though China branded the Dubček regime revisionist, it condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

Out of the welter of cross-currents, at least four principal variants of Communism are alive in the world today. They are 1) Soviet Communism, 2) Maoism, 3) Castroism and 4) reformist Communism as it occurs in two subvariants: Western Communist parties out

of power and ruling parties within the Red world.

▶ Soviet Communism is now among the world's most conservative systems. Its overriding theme is the preservation of the status quo within the Soviet sphere of influence. Watering down Leninist eschatology, Soviet Communism no longer believes in an inevitable violent clash with capitalism and has shown in practice that the worldwide revolution is the least of its concerns. Soviet Communism has long been called "bureaucratic dictatorship," and the description is apt. A party-controlled bureaucratic bossism pervades every area of life, with stultifying results. Art and literature must conform to the precepts of "socialist realism;" that means they must provide didactic uplift about Communism. There are few civil rights for individuals. Dissent from party and government is severely punished. Even so, a small band of dissenters continues to protest against the growing repression (see hox. page 33).

On the economic front, limited innovation, such as the introduction of a form of the profit motive and expansion of managerial authority, is being attempted to improve output and efficiency. But Soviet-style Communists resist any thoroughgoing reform for fear that economic liberalization might spill over into social and political areas. Soviet Communism remains in command throughout most of Eastern Europe, constitutes the major influence on the French party, and controls a number of minor "pocket parties" such as the one in the U.S. and nearly all of the small Middle Eastern and Latin Amer-

Maoism, the antithesis, is wildly revolutionary in word if not in deed. It is also highly emotional. A modern echo of classic Chinese opera, Maoism whines in shrill hyperbole. Rigidly doctrinaire, Chinese Communism retains the traditional belief that a clash with capitalism is inevitable; it calls for wars of national liberation throughout Africa,



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Asia and Latin America. Mao, who immodestly considers himself a Communist innovator on a par with Marx and Lenin, sees the development of world revolution as a repetition of the strategy used by the Chinese Communists to achieve power in 1949. At that time, mass peasant armies surrounded the cities where the government held power, and finally seized them. Mao envisions the peasant masses of the underdeveloped world encircling and ultimately conquering the industrial nations. As the Cultural Revolution illustrated, Maoism within China glorifies perpetual revolution to enable the party to avoid the barnacles of bureaucracy that have encrusted Soviet Communism.

Mass did succeed in destroying the bureaturatie system, but it is an open question whether he are now create an govern China and promote its industrialization. At present, he must rely largely on the army to help him run the country, Outside China, Masside China, Masside China, Masside China, Handida in garris, in Albania, and a handful of insignificant parties (including those in New Zealand, Burma, Thailand). But Massid factions and splitter parties cocountry to the New Left, at has become a there to the New Left, at has be-

Castroism is essentially romantic. evoking the image of the lone defiant man, bristling with machismo, who dares to shake his fist at the citadel of capitalism. Castro competes with Mao in dedication to fomenting revolution. Like Mao, he generalizes from his own success when he and a small band of guerrillas from the Sierra Maestra were able to take power. But unlike Mao, Castro contends that not a mass party, but a handful of armed intellectuals is sufficient to spark revolution among the Latin American peasantry. Bragging that he would turn the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of South America. Castro hoped to export revolution to all of Latin America. Indeed, twelve governments have accused him of exporting subversion and supplying arms to guerrillas in their countries; nowhere did he score a real success. In 1967, his dream of victory was punctured by the Bolivian army bullets that killed Che Guevara, his longtime aide and strategist. In the wake of Che's death, Fidel slowed down his revolutionary activity, and his threat to Latin America began to wane. One reason was that local Communists regarded Castro as a competitor and did not help his guerrillas. Also, Russia was not sympathetic to Castro's calls for drastic action. Its strategy calls for a via pacifica in Latin America. The Soviets hope that local conditions, abetted by U.S. blunders, will play into their scheme of things. At present, their great hope is for making serious inroads in Peru, where the nationalistic military junta is pointedly turning to the Soviets to step up its feud with the U.S. over the American-owned International

Petroleum Company. Though Castroism

has caused fewer factions in Communism than the other currents, Fidel remains an important influence and a hero to many of the world's youth.

▶ Reformism exists in the Communist parties of both the West, where they are out of power, and Eastern Europe, where they are in power. Best exemplified in the West by the Italian Communist Party, the reformist strain is rational and reassuring. According to their pronouncements, the reformers aim to do what Alexander Dubček attempted: to give Socialism a human face. The reformers reflect the trend toward embourgeoisement of the party memhers. Recognizing that voters are no longer gripped by old revolutionary slogans and that today's prosperous workers are more interested in Mercedes-Benz than Marx, many Communists have changed their tactics. Accepting the rules of the political game in their countries, the reformers vow to seek power only by legal means. If they ever get into it, they promise, they will reform the society, not violently tear it

down. They will, so they say, respect

civil rights and freedom of the press while bringing about a more equitable distribution of wealth. Some Western European reformers even envisage allowing political opposition. It is a notion that outrages orthodox Communists, who insist above all on the paramount control of the party.

Among ruling Communist parties, the reformist showcase is the Yugoslavia of Josip Broz Tito, Communism's first heretic. There is far more freedom of expression and action in Yugoslavia than in any other country of Eastern Furope. Newsstands and bookshops offer Yugoslavs easy access to Western publications without fear of reprisals. There is, of course, consorship; certain books, like Milovan Djilas' works, are not available, and the press is controlled. Yugoslavs, if they can afford it, can travel abroad freely, in the East or West, Conversely. Westerners, whether tourists, businessmen or journalists, gain ready admission to Yugoslavia. By scrapping Communism's harshest dictates, the Yugoslavs have created a thriving marketoriented Socialist economy in which

The Ominous Shadow of Stalin

Russian dissenters directed a courageous plea last week to the Moscow summit delegates. It was a petition seeking help in arresting the restalinization of the Soviet Union and restoring civil rights. Among the ten signers was former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, arrested last month for anti-Soviet activities; Grigorenko's name was signed by his wife, Other signers included Pyotr Yakir, who has spent 17 years in a concentration camp, and whose father, a general, was executed during Stalin's purges of the Red army, and Leonid Petrovsky, whose grandtother was once chairman of the region of the Ukraine, Both Yakir and Petrovsky have lost jobs as historians; Grigorenko has not worked since his ouster from the army in 1964. Ex-

"HE 20th and 22nd congresses exposed and condemned Stalin for his heinous crimes against the party and the people. The Stalinist autocratic dictatorship, the tyranny of the security organs that for decades held society in an atmosphere of constant fear and terror, the concentration camps in which millions of innocent people perished, the criminal policy on nationalities under which whole nations were repressed, the blind alley our national economy had reached, the stagnation of science and culture, the low wage level, the low consumption level, the catastrophic housing crisis and many monstrous manifestations of the Stalinist dictatorship were condemned.

Following Khrushchev's ouster, the democratization process was gradually replaced by the restoration of Stalinist methods. Mention must be made of the illegal arrests and illegal sentencings, the absence of publicity and the partiality of the courts, the numerous violations of procedural norms, the wiretapping and the examination of letters. Citizens who dare to voice criticism of any government decree whatsoever are subjected to persecution and are illegally fired from their jobs. For the slightest criticism. Communists are immediately expelled from the party in violation of party regulations. Of late, with ever-increasing frequency, completely healthy people are being placed in psychiatric hospitals.

The growing influence of the people who are attempting to restore the Stalinist past is becoming more and more evident. Once again, the old Stalinist cadres are setting the tone for the government and the party apparatus. In what other light can one evaluate the entry of Soviet troops into friendly Czechoslovskia?

We ask the representatives of the Community parties, whose ideal is the construction of the just society: Can't it really be that such an obvious restoration of Stalinism in our country the head of Communits society does not alarm you? We call upon you to examine the total seriousness your conscience and reason tell you everything that is in your power so that the ominous shadow of Stalin will not darken our future. the workers share profits and managerial responsibility.

All this is a far cry from the days of Lenin and Stalin, when Moscow was truly the capital of the world revolution. Housed in a dingy building just across the street from the Kremlin, the Comintern ran a shadowy, tightly organized network of agents and conspirators who carried Moscow's orders to parties far and near In those days, the first duty of a Communist anywhere in the world was to support the Soviet Union. Sta-"A revolutionary is one who lin said: without arguments, unconditionally. openly and honestly is ready to defend and strengthen the U.S.S.R.

The Russians still spend billions of dollars annually in furthering the Communist cause abroad. The bulk of the

Russia might have done better in maintaining its leadership of the Communist world if the Soviet model were more attractive. Despite the Soviets' excellence in weaponry, space, aeronautics and many other scientific pursuits, they have failed to build either an effective. well-balanced economy or a pleasing life style. Soviet economic weakness is, in fact, a major reason that the Russians must use force in order to keep their grip on Eastern Europe. The Eastern European countries badly need outside aid in order to overhaul and modernize their industries. Since the Soviets cannot provide the aid without harming their own economic plans, the Eastern Europeans want to seek technical and financial assistance from the West. Fearing that economic ties with ly to share power in an Italian government sooner rather than later, stresses its independence of the Soviet way of doing things. Long the lepers of Finnish politics. Communists now participate in the coalition government in Helsinki. By campaigning on an independent platform, Indian Communists have gained power through free elections: they now head coalition Cabinets in the states of Kerala and West Bengal. One reason that the Communists are the fastestgrowing political party in Japan is that they refuse to identify with either Peking or Moscow, insisting on the priority of their own interests over those of Russia and China.

Except in Southeast Asia and parts of Latin America and West Germany, public fear of Communism has noticeably declined. The change in the public climate offers an opportunity to the reformist parties. If they actually do achieve power through elections, the test for the reformists will be to show that Communism can indeed be the liberating, uplifting force that Marx envisioned and not the tyranny that the Soviets and Chinese made it. To judge from all past evidence, it would be dangerous and foolhardy for any Western voter to bet his liberty in the expectation that this will ever happen. But if it did, would Communism still be Communism?

Legacy of Moscow

In a way, that question is really what the Moscow summit is all about, though perhaps none of those present in St. George's Hall would frame their purpose in such a transparent way. Certainly not Brezhnev, Kosygin and the other Russian hosts. Judging by the initial head-on assault against China, they have cast aside the promises made to many of the delceations and are determined to wrench from the parties the long sought writ of excommunication against Mao Tsetung. It seems a reckless act, and having embarked on it, the Soviet leaders have little more to lose by also demanding from the conference an endorsement of the Brezhnev Doctrine and gaining expiation for their invasion of Czechoslovakia.

That, too, would be reckless, for on neither China nor Czechoslovakia are the Russians likely to have their way at the conference. Communism has existed too long, embraced too many diverse peoples, adapted to too many local needs and seen too many second- and thirdgeneration visions for the monolith ever to be reassembled again. The descendants of the 1917 Revolution are mutants, dedicated to making Communism. their Communism-safe in a world of diversity. It is disturbing that the men in the Kremlin do not understand that, or cannot accept it. In demanding that the parties of the world fall into line, they are virtually guaranteeing that the legacy of Moscow, 1969, will be a Communist world more at odds than ever before.



FUNERAL OF SOVIET GUARDS KILLED ON CHINESE BORDER Shots on the Ussuri still echo in Moscow.

money goes for arms for North Viet Nam and oil for Cuba, which are items that advance Soviet diplomatic arms. The U.S.S.R. until recently supplied one-fifth of the Italian party's \$10 mil. to his proposed to the U.S.R. until recently subsidizes the italian financially, subsidizes the italian financially, subsidizes the italian financially subsidizes the italian financially subsidizes the italian financially subsidizes the italian financially subsidizes the italian financial financi

Central Committee Secretary Komstantin Kautshev in charge of relations with ruling Communist parties, while Bors-Ponomares attends to the affairs of the nonruling parties, and both are buy all year long as hosts or travelling sulsmen. Their emissaires try to inthemed developments within the parties, the invision of Czechoolewskia, it be visit Embasy, in Kome distributed a pamphlet criticizing the Italian party leader and cut back on aid to the Italians. the West might loosen political alleguance, the Soviets oppose such links. One manifestation of the Soviets' attitude is their denunciation of the West's attempts to "build bridges" of tourism, culture and trade-to Eastern Europe. On a global scale, Russia's reliance

on force and authoritarianism hurts its role as a Communist leader. Partly for that very reason, the movement's fission has proved to be a downright political advantage to many Communist parties. The image of Communism's being run by an alien despotism in Moscow has faded to a great extent as individual parties have become more independent. The French party for years cringed under Socialist Guy Mollet's indictment that "the Communists are not of the Left but of the East"; by asserting a moderate amount of independence, the French Communists have gained a new respectability in French political life (see page 41). The Italian party, the largest European Communist Party outside the East bloc, which is like-

MARXISM: THE PERSISTENT VISION

EADERS of the 75 Communist parties meeting in Moscow-and those conspicuously absent-often argue bitterly about what their faith, Marxism, means. More interesting is the question of what Marxism does. How strong is its influence today? What accounts for its ability to renew its appeal? Who needs it?

As a theory of society, Marxism's "laws" have been mocked by events, such as the increasing prosperity of the workers and the near disappearance of cyclical economic crisis. As a political movement and myth, it has been far more successful. Regimes calling themselves Marxist (and who has a right to say they are not?) rule a third of mankind. Their future expansion, while not as likely as it seemed 20 years ago, is by no means impossible. But neither failed Marxist theory nor entrenched Marxist power explains why Marxism can today provide slogans for the uproar in U.S. colleges and ghettos, courage for guerrillas in Viet Nam, flickers of hope for anxious intellectuals and bewildered peasants.

Functionally, Marxism is a vision, belonging more to poctics than to science or politics. It began as a sensitive man's response to an early stage of a fundamental transformation in the human condition. The great change that had set in by the middle of the 19th century still rolls on, gathering speed and extending its breadth. Today, as in Marx's time, men feel the change as both a threat and a promise. It evokes fear and hope simultaneously. The Marxist vision is a peculiar, sometimes deadly-but for many men an effective-way of perceiving the moving society and relating themselves to it.

Dr. Marx concocted a "total" theory, a consistent set of symbols, to explain the course of history, and he intended his theory to be swallowed whole. The vision derives much of its poetic force from its unity, although few modern men gulp down the whole brew. Outside the Communist countries, formal conversion to Marxism is now rarer than it was a generation ago. Much Marxist influence is indirect and fragmentary. In some minds, fragments of the Marxist vision coexist-illogically-with Christianity or Freudianism. For most, it provides a rationale for criticizing society as it is, rather than a plan for moving toward society as it ought to be.

Alienation and Anarchism

Nevertheless. Marxist influence is still potent, especially where men find themselves in situations somehow analogous to those that surrounded Marx in the Europe of five generations ago. Leaving aside the uses of Marxism within the Communist-ruled countries, groups especially susceptible to the vision today include the peoples of less advanced countries now experiencing early stages of modernization, and certain unassimilated groups (for example, radical U.S. blacks) in advanced countries. Equally susceptible are intellectuals and youth.

Why and how the Marxist vision attracts many members of this mixed bag may be explained by a quick look back at Marx's Europe of the 1840s, which in today's parlance would be called a "developing area." Its social structure was crumbling under the impact of science and industrialization. Three attitudes toward change were fairly clearly defined: 1) conservative, 2) progressive or, as it was called, "liberal," and 3) revolutionary. Then, as now, thoroughgoing reactionaries were hard to find; nobody seriously tried to restore the pre-industrial Europe. But there were many clingers, people who fought rearguard actions, defending for reasons of interest or sentiment one or another bastion of the pre-industrial past. Against them, the liberals, mainly middle-class and including many intellectuals, carried the fight for science, industrialization, education and the nation-state, promising (recklessly) a tomorrow of peace and enlightenment.

Between those two groups there was no doubt where Marx stood: for science against religion, for industrialism against "the idiocy of rural life," for the new nationstate against the remnants of the old political order. But he regarded the new order, capitalism, as a transient phase that would soon destroy itself and be replaced by a wave that he saw expressed in the third attitude toward the new order, revolution. The liberals, eves on the future, tended to be insensitive to the suffering, material and psychological, caused by the march of the new Marx was not. He believed, incorrectly, as it turned out, that the material condition of the workers must worsen as capitalism developed. But his observations about psychological "alienation" in a changing society have proved much more durable.

Appealing Ambivalence

The revolutionary spirit in Marx's Europe was essentially anarchistic. It was the revolt of men alienated by industrializing change from the land, from their tools, from a sense of their status-however humble-in a society that they understood. Although Marx sympathized with the emotions that called forth this revolt, he recognized anarchism's impotence and fought it bitterly. In his view, nothing could or should stop the march of industrialization and its political and social consequences.

Thus, a key element in the Marxist vision was his effort to channel the anarchistic spirit so that it would be in favor of industrialism but opposed to the capitalists. His intellectual support of the new order fused with his passionate sense of justice to shape a way of being that was simultaneously on the side of progress and in revolt against its present villains who controlled both government and the means of production. This ambivalent way of dealing with the stress of rapid social change retains its ap-

peal for many men today.

This appeal arises from the fact that many countries are now in situations resembling the Europe of the 1840s. Those who wish to lead must notice the resentments of men displaced by progress from the land and from the certainties of traditional society. In developing countries, for example, a leader can put himself on the side of industrialization and modernization while at the same time blaming the capitalists (in practice, this often means the U.S.) for the suffering and alienation. "Yankee go home" descends from the Marxist vision, combining rising nationalism with class hostility

Many advanced nations, including the U.S., contain "underdeveloped countries," groups experiencing their first intensive contact with industrialism. Formal Marxism has not achieved a substantial following among American Negroes, but Marx would not be surprised at the rise of black militancy in recent years. As Southern Negroes move from the land to the cities, their rising material expectations collide with the frustrations of impersonal urban life. In many ways, the ghetto riots are recurrences of the blind old anarchist reaction that the Marxist vision tries to channel into another kind of political expression. Black Panther slogans have undergone an evolution typical of Marxist influence. The Panthers began with a program of ethnic separation, resisting assimilation by the national state with anarchistic verve. In effect, their leaders express Marxist concepts, calling for a class struggle joining blacks and whites against "exploiters."

Less obvious but no less real is the analogy between 19th century Europe and the situation of modern intellectuals. Today intellectuals are prospering, and their susceptibility to Marxist concepts can hardly be explained on grounds of material "immiserization" (growing poverty). But there are other reasons for alienation among intellectuals. The specialization of the sciences tends to dissociate the academic intellectual from the decisions, almost invariably multidisciplinary in nature, that actually shape the course of society. The intellectual often feels irrelevant. As a scientist, he pursues work that does not include concern for the moral or esthetic con-

tent of progress, but as a man he has not forgotten the intellectual's traditional responsibility for the good, the beautiful and the unity between kinds of truth. Many intellectuals draw symbols from the Marxist vision to explain what is wrong and to suggest how their lives might regain a sense of relevance.

Sir Isaiah Berlin, non-Marxist biographer of Marx, in a recent interview made this appraisal of Marxism's influence upon intellectuals: "Marx has entered the texture of thought of all sorts of intellectuals without their being conscious of it. Anyone who ignores Marx is a kind of primitive, a prescientific." Sir Isaiah is quite conscious of Marx's mistakes, but "most important thinkers have violently exaggerated. If they don't, they're not listened to. Plato, Descartes, the writers of the Gospels, Kant, Hegel, Bertrand Russell, exaggerated. Exaggeration breaks the crust of accepted opinion. Freudianism would have been an eclectic mess if Freud hadn't exaggerated.

Marx's exaggeration-or simplification-is often especially appealing to university students in the advanced countries, who are cruelly confronted with the modern problem of "iden-Never was a society so opaque to its young. Unlike the peasant's son, or even the merchant's son, to-

day's young may be unable to grasp precisely what their fathers do. What is it like to be a corporation executive. an advertising copywriter, a designer of computers?

The Opaque Future

The inscrutable face that a complex society presents to its young makes them vulnerable to simplistic explanations of it. To them, as to 19th century anarchists, individual man appears good and society appears corrupt. "I am a human being. Do not bend, fold or mutilate, was the slogan raised on the Berkeley campus in 1964 and repeated many times since. The computer, symbol of advancing technology, has resurrected all the old Luddite animosity toward the machine. The French student rioters of a year ago burned with the old anarchist passion against "society"-the passion that Marxism is designed to harness

So far, rebellious youth in the advanced countries shows little sign of swallowing Marxism whole, but the Marxist vision does have its strong appeal to the alienated young. An Italian observer, the critic Nicola Chiaromonte, believes that Marxist influence has grown among Italian youth, even though the Communist Party has been losing young members. "Marx isn't very highly regarded as a thinker," Chiaromonte says, "but as a father image he is very much present. The older generation of Marxists remains influenced by Marxist thought, the last philosophy with a consistent system. But youth is moved by Marx's call to action. Castro's Cuba and Che Guevara conjure up a romantic image."

In a rapidly changing world, men apparently need a clear image of the "enemy" responsible for their anxiety and frustration. Hence the recent discovery of something called "the Establishment." A more recent American variant is "the military-industrial complex," familiarly known as MIC. The idea descends from Marx's "ruling class" of capitalists, with their grip on government and the cul-tural "superstructure." Neither "the Establishment" nor "the MIC" was coined by a Marxist, but the eager way in which these names, twisted from their original mean-

ing, were embraced indicates the desperate psychological need of many Americans for "a class enemy" in a society that has gone a long way toward abolishing class.

Will the Vision Go Away?

Marxism today is more effective as a source of symbols directed against society's defects than as a guide to political action or serious thought. In countries dominated by Marxist parties, the faith is largely cant, the conventional wisdom, though it would be wrong to assume that such a role has no significance.

As a student of society, Marx had a fatal limitation; his central insistence that all history and all human motivation could be reduced to materialist factors. Modern sociology, psychology and history have a more sophisticated view. Indeed. Marx's theory of man-as-economic-animal is regularly disproved by countless eruptions of nationalism, tribalism and just plain human cussedness that can hardly be explained through economic motives. It is a striking irony that the New Left, which often uses Marxist sticks to belabor capitalist society, tries to reach beyond Marx for spiritual values and a kind of community (neo-tribalism) that Marx, the materialist, would have considered sentimental and atavistic.



MARX'S GRAVE IN LONDON

Despite these limitations, the Marxist vision remains pervasive. It has already drawn into its influence some who started as New Leftists and have gradually become Marxists. In addition, Marxism's most interesting area of opportunity lies among highly educated people in advanced countries, notably the U.S. The slogans of their rebellion against various social evils assert that they wish to change society. But underneath the surface, what is being resisted is often change itself, change that has no obvious meaning and no clearly understood direction. As the U.S. enters the "post-industrial age," the bitter questions about the future, the nostalgia for the past-all the 19th century symptoms seem to be returning. Perhaps tomorrow will see men longing for the rigidities of the industrial century, as previous generations clung to the stabilities of their rural past. Extreme alienation from tomorrow's more complex society may well provoke the anarchist syndrome.

In any age, the anarchist thrust-though it can be destructively powerful-leads nowhere. Some rebels sensing this, will look around for a more constructive vision. When they look, there will be the bearded prophet with his peculiar mix of scientism and moral passion, his peculiar way of linking yesterday-today-tomorrow, his peculiar kind of oversimplification and exaggeration, his peculiar kind of hope.

So the attraction of the Marxist vision may persist until modern society finds a more effective way of explaining itself and its direction. And that could be a long, long time.



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We give you more than credit.

FRANCE: THE BIRTH OF POMPIDOULISM

N the relaxed manner reserved for those far out in front, Ex-Premier Georges Pompidou last week nailed down the platform of post-De Gaullism that had won him an unexpectedly wide lead over his only remaining rival for the French presidency, Interim President Alain Poher. He announced that he would share some of his allotted television campaign with key supporters from the French political center, thereby inviting further defections from the already depleted opposition. He planned to visit six more cities across France. plainly hoping for a wide national mandate in the runoff election June 15. As if to help him gain it, the French Communist Party took the unprecedented step of ordering its followers to abstain from the voting altogether. If every Communist voter hewed to the party line. Pompidou was already assured of a majority. No Frenchman expected it to end quite that neatly, but as the campaign entered its final week. Georges Pompidou seemed almost certain to become the next President of France.

In the face of what political observers labeled "Pompidoulist" strength, however Poher showed no inclination to retire from French politics as quickly -or as quietly-as he entered "I became a candidate in the first place to avoid a confrontation between Gaullism and Communism, and I succeeded because I came in second," he explained. What is more, he intended to step up the fight, abandoning his earlier tactic of campaigning only by IV and press conference in favor of a jetliner tour of twelve cities in five days. His determination remained in spite of editorials in the prestigious Le Monde and Le Figuro urging him to withdraw and



FRONT RUNNER POMPIDOU

The mathematics were all too clear.

of desertions among his key backers. Poher himself indulged in few illusions about the outcome, hinting that his only goal was a strong second-place showing. "I'm an old engineer," he said, "and I know my mathematics."

Poher from Nowhere. The mathematics were all too clear. Pompidou captured 44.47% of the total vote in last week's Round 1 of balloting, just a shade behind De Gaulle's showing in his first-round presidential campaign in 1965, and he ran first in all but one of France's 95 metropolitan departments. Poher's 23.21% of the tally made him a distant second with barely half as many votes. Communist Jacques Duclos, who got only one-third as many votes as Poher in early campaign polls, finished up just two points behind him. and actually beat the Interim President in one out of every three departments.

Late polls forecast a slipping trend for Poher (the last ceded him 25%, v. 37% at his high point), but they certainly did not suggest that he would almost drop to third. They did indicate that France was taking a careful second look at the mild-mannered grandfather who appeared out of nowhere to unseat De Gaulle-and on reappraisal was having some doubts. What appeared at first as Poher's quiet strengths later turned out to be exasperating quirks. The man who refused to grandstand from his temporary quarters at the Elysee also refused to get out and campaign. The man most responsible for rousing France to vote no on De Gaulle's referendum seemed unwilling to indict the Gaullist era with facts and figures. The man who gave the presidency its first informality in eleven years also showed up on television peering at notes and occasionally flubbing a line. her is a good man," remarked Deauville Mayor Michel d'Ornano, "but he still thinks one can solve the problems of the world over a cup of coffee."

Personal Triumph. Pompidou, meanwhile, seemed to be everywhere, and he neither used notes nor hesitated to draft indictments. He suggested that Poher, if elected, would have to battle an overwhelmingly Gaullist Assembly, By holding up this specter, Pompidou successfully managed to appeal to what Journalist Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber calls France's "overriding concern" with stability. Not the least of his weapons was to mention the virtual necessity of Poher's calling new parhamentary elections should be win having voted eleven times since De Gaulle came to power. France is tired of elections.

Still another factor was the remarkable popularity of Communist Jacques Duclos, a 72-year-old roly-poly extravert who looks as though he had never given up his youthful job as a păissier. Although he serves as the party's chief



COMMUNIST DUCLOS & POMPON
The propaganda came in one-liners.

propagandist. Duclos wisely concentrated on giving Communism a friendly face and good one-liners-including the name of his dog, Pompon, after his favorite political opponent. Asked why his party disavowed the militant New Left, whom Frenchmen have nicknamed Gauchos Duclos replied: "Gauchos, but they're American!" He seldom lost the chance to rumble mechanically against inhuman labor laws and big banks, but he performed best on the personal level, assuring listeners that, as a onetime Catholic, he "understands the spirit" of believers. Duclos was the first Communist ever to run for chief of state in popular elections. Though his success was primarily a personal triumph, he proved that the Communists' strength in legislative elections can translate into national contests-a discovery that could well increase their stature among other leftists. More important, Duclos campaign was another step toward French Communism's overriding goal:

respectability. Nonetheless. Poher received a larger share of the vote than any other centrist candidate in a Fifth Republic election and his determination to ride out the race could help re-establish the center as a French political torce. In the long run, it was probably the non-Communist left that suffered the most irreparable damage in the election results. The socialist tandem of Gaston Defferre and Pierre Mendès-France polled only 5.01% of the vote. Although they tried to offer a positive program (scrapping of the nuclear force de trappe and cost-of-living wage increases) the socialist pair seemed to mirror too clearly all the outworn spirit of the tired socialist camp. As a result, they left the splintered socialists-who helped force De Gaulle into a humiliating runoff in 1965 and captured 16.5% of the vote last year—in worse shape than they have been in at any time since World War II.

Pompidou, on the other hand, had proved once and for all that Gaullism is far larger than the length and shadow of a single man. Indeed, he had proved it so convincingly that some observers, including Le Monde's Hubert Beauve-Méry, wondered whether last week's election was not the beginning of a one-party state. That was undoubtedly a premature judgment, considering the Communists' solid showing. But there was little doubt that Pompidou had consolidated Gaullist strength. It was exactly the mandate he sought: a license for sure-handed change within the continuity of Gaull-

MIDDLE EAST: THE FEDAYEEN REVISITED

DURING the day, the summer heat, well over 100°, shimmers oppressively, over the Iordan Valley, Hardly anything moves. It is only at night that the valley comes to title, for night is the total of the Iordan valley, the Iordan valley of the

army to fight by our side."
Two years after the Six-Day War, the fedayeen remain the Arabs main weapon. The cost has been high: by Israeli body count, the fedayeen have suffered 450, dead on Israeli-held territors.

and an estimated 550 more in clashes across or on the other side of the border; they have also lost 2,000 captured. But at the same time, the guerrillas have forced Israel to maintain its military force at full strength. Ironically, in the course of their war, the fedayeen have also set themselves on a possible collision course with some of the Arab governments who sponsor them. For while Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser now only talks about forcing the Israelis to withdraw to prewar frontiers. the commandos still insist that their goal is the destruction of Israel and the recovery of Palestine.

The Israelis maintain that the fedaveen have not managed to penetrate

A Voice of Extremism



GUERRILLA LEADER HABASH

BY far the most extreme of the fedaveen groups is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). an outfit of perhaps 2,000 men that has taken credit for such spectaculars as the hijacking of one El Al airliner, the shooting up of two others, the bombing of the Tel Aviv central hus station and a Jerusalem supermarket, and the blowing up of the Aramco pipeline-its most recent exploit. It is led by left-leaning Dr. George Habash. 44, a Palestinian Arab from Lydda who long ago turned from medicine to the violent week, in a rare interview, Time Correspondent Lee Griggs talked with Habash in PFIP headquarters in Amman and heard a typical fedaveen voice-fanatical, boastful, uncompromising. Some questions and answers:

Why has the organization which you lead concentrated on sabotage, attacking El Al planes, and performing other "spectaculars"?

Frankly, we need the shock value, not for personal publicity but for the whole Palestine cause. We had to shock both an indifferent world and a demoralized Palestine nation. We must make it

clear to our own people and all the world that there can be no political solution short of a return to Palestine.

If Arab governments agree to a peaceful settlement short of a return to Palestine, will you oppose them as well as Israel?

Of course. If any government tries to stop us, we will have to defend ourselves against that government, whether or not it is Arab. We will not start the battle against Arab regimes, but if they try to stop us from fighting to regain our homeland, conflict is inevitable.

Does not the blowing up of the pipeline, which you have said is aimed at American interests, also hurt Arab interests at the same time?

It may, but that is no concern of ours. There are many Arab millionaires made rich by oil, or by representing Western companies. It is not right that they should be rich while we are both poor and homeless. They are indirectly the agents of the U.S., which articles the learning the transition of the U.S., which articles the second of the transition of the learning the learning

Does Israeli retaliation for your raids, which often kills innocent Arab civilians, bother you?

No. It is exactly what we want, for we are totally against any peaceful solution that leaves behind an Israel. And this is the only possible peaceful solution in prospect. That means to us "Shap in your tents forever with no homeland." Actually, Israel and the peaceful solution in the peaceful solution which we cannot accept.

Will there be other "spectaculars"?
Yes, there must be. We must mobilize our people, and to do so we must continue our present policies.
What we are after is liberation of Pal-

estine. If we must blow up a dozen El Al planes to do it, then we will. Liberation is only accomplished by consistent and insistent popular war.

How long do you think liberation might take?

I can't imagine our achieving it in less than ten years, maybe twenty years. But however long liberation takes, we are ready. Our only aim is a democratic, non-Zionist Palestine.

Does it matter to you that the Middle East crisis might develop into a world war?

Not really. The world has forgotten Palestine, Now it may be a tention to our struggle. No matter what happens to the Arah world or the whole world, we will keep fighting to leave our tents and go home. Whoever opposes our fight will have to fight us. If the world thinks the commando movement is superficial, it is much mistaken. It is the only was open to us to go home.



3 happy families. 41 years of dishwasher use. \$6.60 for repairs.

Who wants a dishwasher that's always breaking down? Not the people in this ad.

That's why they all bought Kitchen Aid dishwashers many years ago. In a total of 41 years, they spent a grand total of \$6.60 for repairs.

And their stories aren't unusual. Many of our customers tell us how little they've had to spend on repairs.

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For all the details on how a KitchenAid is built better to work better and last longer, see your dealer. (He's listed in the Yellow Pages.) Or write KitchenAid Dishwashers, Department 9DQQ-6. The Hobart Manufacturing Company, Troy, Ohio 45373.

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FEDAYEEN KILLED BY ISRAELIS NEAR SYRIAN BORDER
"We live like roaches."

deeply and in strength, nor have they been able to win over the bulk of the 944,000 Arabs living on the Israeli-occupied West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. Good intelligence and highly sophisticated, hard-hitting defense tactics stop most guerrilla activity on the perimeter of the Israeli heartland. Harsh retaliation by frequent air and artiflery and occasional ground strikes has pushed fedayeen bases away from the 1967 borders. Sabotage and terrorism have dwindled in recent months. The Gaza Strip, that beehive of Palestine nationalism, is as quiet as it has been in years, most likely because of growing prosperity. On the West Bank, cultivated acreage has increased sharply. Yet resentment smolders on, occasionally erupting into violence, as it did last week when seven Arabs and four Israelis were killed in rocketings and terrorist incidents. "Don't get the idea that they are beginning to love us," says one Israeli official. "They hate us as much as ever.

Immense Pressures. Israeli officials are convinced that while the fedaveen are constantly trying to build up fresh cells of supporters among Arabs in Israeliheld territory, most of them can be quickly broken up. Still, the fedaycen thrust continues. There are armed incidents almost every day and the guerrillas come with better equipment and more spirit than they showed a year ago. Two recent attacks on fortified Israeli positions were led by officers-a rare event in the past. Earlier this month. in a well-planned strike, half a dozen guerrillas belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (see box. page 42) blew up Aramco's trans-Arabian pipeline linking Saudi Arabia and Lebanon across 25 miles of formerly Syrian, now Israeli-held territory. The Israelis, working with bulldozers to form carthen ramparts, then burning off the oil, had a difficult time keeping 8,500 tons of spilled crude from polluting their major water source in the north, the headwaters of the Jordan River.

The continuing fedaveen push has vastly complicated the prospects for a Middle East settlement. What is more, a number of Arab governments find themselves caught between admiration for guerrilla outlits like Al-Fatah (Timtcover. Dec. 13) and concern over the commandos' popular mystique and the dangers they pose for their own nations. To the children in Arab refugee camps, the guerrillas are heroes and they invariably answer "fedayeen" when asked what they want to be when they grow up. But fedayeen activity, by inviting Israeli retaliation, creates immense pressures on the moderate, unsteady regimes in Jordan and Lebanon. Some compromises have been reached in an effort to avoid triction; in Amman, headquarters of all but two

Amman, beadquarters of all but two or the eight different guerrilla groups, the camouflage uniforms and Kalashnikov assault rifles of the fedaseen mikov assault rifles of the fedaseen were only a month ago, and relations were only a month ago, and relations between the guerrillas and the Jordanian army seem to be surprisingly good But many Jordanians and some of the older Paliestinian refugees are increasingly wary of the fedayeen presence, mainly because they lear Israeli relatation for guerrilla raids All of the Arab states close to Israel, microlation for guerrilla raids All of the Arab states close to Israel, microbe curried to some decree.

In Lebanon, where fedayeen activity is at the root of a continuing government crisis, the regime has in effect banned such activity. Iraq and Egypt have now set up their own guerrilla organizations—with the apparent aim to

dilute Palestinian dominance over the commando movement. Iraq stations troops around fedayeen training camps on its soil: Syria trams guerrilas but has been reluctant to allow raids to be launched from its territory adjacent to the Israeli-held Golan Heights.

Saudi Arabia and Lebanon are furious about the attack on the Aramco line, and even Egypt has sounded reproving. Saud Catro's Al Artim of the fedayeen: "Being commando organizations does not mean that they are beyond questioning." Such friction also works in reverse there are persistent reworks in evene: there are persistent revolutions of the contracts." For the assassination of Arabi leaders, including Nasseer and Jordan's King Hussein, in the event of a real crunch with host governments.

The result is growing pressure for an Arab League meeting at which the relationship between fedayeen and host soon and the sound be threshed out. The sound be threshed out the sound of the sound of

seem undaunted by their high casualties; 50% losses in dead, wounded and captured are not uncommon, and since the beginning of the year, some 200 guerrillas have been killed. They also profess to be unconcerned by the apparent futility of many of their attacks, the intramural rivalries among commando groups, and signs of mounting conflict with other Arabs. They still have money -from Arab governments and private contributions-and enough recruits, and they seem determined to fight on regardless of consequences. As one of Al-Fatah's leaders said last week, "We are now living in a honeymoon with the other Arabs. We don't know when it will end, or who will stay with us. But it does not matter. We will keep fighting -and fight our fellow Arabs if necessary. If the Arabs try to stop us, we will simply go underground and continue fighting. We will not accept anything less than return to Palestine." the Middle East, where overblown rhetoric is a way of life, the fedayeen give every indication of meaning exactly what they say.

BIAFRA

Reprieve for Eighteen

For 18 white men. Europe is aroused. What have they said about our millions? Eighteen white men assisting in the crime of genocide. What do they say about our murdered innocents? How many black dead make one missing white? Mathematicians, please answer me. Is it infinity?

The voice of General Odumegwu Ojukwu, carried by Radio Biafra, vibrated between impassioned outrage and constrained eloquence. The 18 men that A man's world. Shiny wood, smoke, pretzels, good conversation, and best of all, the best of all, Miller High Life. For over six generations, the great premium beer.

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beauty, color, and texture of a car- dinary nylon. But it's worth it, bepet. But not the common dirt a car- cause ANSO looks new, Longer ANSO Mohawk welcomes it.

For details write: Mohawk Car pets, Commercial Carpet Department, 295 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10016.



Biafra's boss referred to-14 Italians. three West Germans and a Lebanese -were employees of the Italian government's oil combine, ENI. They were captured last month by Biafran troops in the Okpai oilfields near Port Harcourt in an encounter in which eleven other oil workers (ten Italians and a Jordanian) were killed. Later a five-man Biafran tribunal that sits for security cases condemned the 18 prisoners to death by firing squad for helping Nigeria wage war. Once the sentences were announced, Ojukwu was besieged by clemency pleas from Italy, West Germany, Portugal, Gabon, the Ivory Coast and the Vatican. Some Italians proposed armed intervention to free the men

Down Raid, Exactly how much fighting, I any, the oil crew had engaged in was by no means clear. The BiaTrans sinindicate BiaTran positions and of leading Nigerian forces. Other sources related the incident differently. A Nigerian watchman in the oil camp, who survoved by hiding under a truck, manitament that BiaTran commands attacked the properties of the command of the truck of the command of the comtant of the comtant of the comtant of the command of the comtant of the comt

Whatever happened, Biafrans resent the foreigners for working in Nigeria for ENI's marketing arm, AGIP. Oliukwu is convinced than without the oil roy-drilling operations, his cash-short enemy would soon be brought to the negotiating table. "Oilmen are more dangerous than mercenaries." Biafran Information Minister (feguu Eke said last week. The properties of the properti

De Facto Recognition, Ojukwa treated the men correctly however. Three lawyers defended them at their trial. they received food forwarded by the Vatican and were visited by the Rt. Rev. Godfrey Okoye, Roman Catholic bishop of Port Harcourt. Ojukwu, however, refused to discuss their plight with ENI but insisted that the Italian government -which does not recognize Brafra -speak in their behalf. He got his way when Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs Mario Pedini flew into Owerri to negotiate, thus giving Biatra at least temporary de facto recognition that irritated opposing Nigeria.

Last week, giving in to the storm of clemency petitions, Oulxwa announced that the sentences of the 18 "non-indigenous collaborators" were being commuted and they were allowed to leave the country. Oulxwu, a Catholic himself, had been moved by Pope Paul's pleas for mercy, according to the Bi-afran government. But what obviously moved Bafar's leader most of all was the fact that three of the most earnest promption of the mo

LATIN AMERICA Rocky's Rocky Path

At the halfway mark, Nelson Rockefeller's four-part series of fact-finding missions to Latin America for President Nixon has a depressing record. He has visited ten countries so far, been confronted with anti-U.S. demonstrations of one sort or another in five, cut short his stay in one because of threats of rioting-and been disinvited by three. It is a bitter box score, but it contains one encouraging ingredient. Rocky's more to dramatize the sorry state of U.S.-Latin American relations than anything since Richard Nixon's own tumultuous tour of the southern continent in 1958. Last week, conceding that there canceled Again, like Caldera, President Educate Fers Montalva, a friend of the U.S., was influenced by threats of unrest in response to the Rockeleller visit. In any case, some Chilearn felt that a would be superfluous: this week, Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdes, acting on behalf of all Laint American countries, will present the President with a combehalf of all Laint American countries, will green the President with a common particularly in the economic field—for U.S.-Latin American relations.

With Understanding. Neither the take Department nor the Governor were surprised by the wave of Latin American protest and rebuff. Rockefeller had not expected cancellations, but he treated them with understanding. "As



"... BUT IT WAS ALL A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS IN TERMS OF FINDING OUT WHAT THE PEOPLE ARE THINKING!"

is "some discontent" among Latin Amereans over their relations with the U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers declared that "there is no part of the world more important to us" and that the Administration does not want relations to deteriorate further.

Superfluous Visit, Governor Rockefeller received his first cancellation from Peru after the U.S. announced that arms sales to Lima had been suspended because of seizures of and fines for U.S. tuna boats charged with violating Peru's self-declared 200-mile limit. Bolivia, next on his itinerary, limited Rockefeller's visit to three hours for fear of student demonstrations-and consultations were held at La Paz's heavily guarded 13,350-ft.-high airport rather than in the capital. Then, 29 hours before Rocky was to have landed at Caracas' Maiguetia airport, the Venezuelan government asked for a postponement of the visit-most likely because President Rafael Caldera does not want to blemish his domestic "pacification program" by being forced to suppress possuble demonstrations.

In an equally hard blow, Chile requested that Rockefeller's visit there be

one Latin American said to me, "You've gotten us off the back pages and onto the front page in the Veter States," who come to the page said onto the page of the p

Although there have been suggestions that the mission be called off, Rockefeller seems determined to continue with the third installment of his tour-visits to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Paraguay. By week's end Uruguay indicated that it, too, would like to cancel the visit but would prefer that the initiative come from Washington. The other three governments-all of them military regimes-are confident that they can welcome Rocky while keeping their militant activists in check. Even so, large U.S. Secret Service details were checking out local security conditions with the kind of minute attention to detail that they usually reserve only for the

Understanding the

A 4-minute cram course from Merrill Lynch

The over-the-counter market is not a place. It's a way of buying and selling securities by negotiation, instead of public auction, as on stock exchanges.

Who negotiates, and how? Dealers and brokers. Some 4 000 of them—linked by a massive telephone and teletype network that stretches from coast to coast and around the world.

What kind of stocks are traded over-the-counter?

All the publicly owned stocks and bonds of all the companies not "listed" on stock exchanges are bought and sold over-the-counter.

About 3,000 stocks are available through the exchanges, compared to an estimated 50,000 on the unlisted market.

Over-the-counter-securities range all the way from the most volatile penny stocks to the most conservative, gilt-edged Government bonds.

Many people assume that if a stock isn't listed on an exchange it somehow hasn't "made the grade." Not necessarily true, Hundreds of

companies which could qualify for listing on an exchange prefer to be traded over-the-counter.

Most important: when the securi-

ties of any company are offered to the public for the first time, they are always offered over-the-counter.

If there's an embryonic Xerox or IBM around today—this must be the

How do they do?

Last year, as a group, the average of the 35 leading securities that comprise the over-the-counter industrial index rose 72 points, compared to an increase of only 39 points for the Dow-Jones average of 30 N.Y.S.E. industrials.

Seven-Up and Diamond Crystal Salt doubled. So did Dravo. In fact, literally hundreds of over-the-counter stocks—such as Tappan, Eckerd Drugs, and Alco Standard—had price increases exceeding 100 percent.

However, to put the picture in its proper perspective, we hastily add that many of these stocks that went up double or more were very lowpriced issues of a highly speculative character. Furthermore, a great many unlisted securities suffered losses last year, to the last year, the last

What happens when you place an order?

From an investor's point of view, the procedures for buying listed and unlisted securities may seem pretty much the same. But there are differences at the broker's end. Big differences. And they could be important to you

First, when you ask your broker to buy a listed stock, he buys it at public auction on an exchange. You pay the price that prevails for any buyer at a given moment.

All over-the-counter trading, on the other hand, is done by negotiating, bargaining among dealers and brokers. There is no set price at any one time Indeed, there are frequently wide differences in price between dealers.

Second, when you ask your broker to buy a listed stock, he virtually always acts as your agent.

But in the over-the-counter market many stockbrokers may wear two

over-the-counter market:

hats. That of an agent (a broker). Or that of a principal (a dealer).

As an agent, your stockbroker scouts the available sources of the stock you want, negotiates the price, and charges you a commission for his efforts.

As a dealer, he sells the stock to you directly out of his own inventory, either at a profit or a loss, adding a markup above the prevailing market price for his services.

Your stockbroker: the key

Obviously, as an agent, a broker must have facilities enough to be able to check a number of sources, be conscientious enough to do it—and be skilled in trying to negotiate the best price for you.

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 Merrill Lynch's guarantee: when acting as your agent, it is our policy always to check at least three competing dealer markets, if there are that many, to try to get the best price

As a dealer, a stockbroker may assume even more importance for investors.

The reason is simple. Tracking down stocks as an agent can take hours—or even days. If the price has been rising, you can end up paying more because of the delay.

But if your broker can put on a dealer's hat, and buy from you or sell to you from his own inventory (called "making a market" in a security), he is generally able to give you a quote and execute your order much more rapidly.

Thus, to a degree, the greater the variety of stocks and bonds in which your broker "makes a market," the better. And the faster he is able to handle your order, the better.

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PEOPLE

Perhaps it was only a threat, but the tears were certainly authentic. Joe Willie Namath, quarterback of professional football's world-champion New York Jets, insisted that he meant business when he announced at a news conterence that he was "retiring reluctantly" from the game-and taking Teammates George Sauer, Pete Lammons and Jim Hudson with him. The 26-year-old superstar, whose high-velocity passes carried the lets to a startline 16-7 unset over the National Football League's powerful Baltimore Colts earlier this year, gave as his reason the latest in a long series of off-the-field scraps. This time the quarrel was with N.F.L. Commissioner Pete Rozelle, who had demanded that Joe relinquish his onethird interest in Bachelors III, a Manhattan watering place said to have become a gamblers' hangout. "Rozelle told me I must get out of the restaurant business or be suspended," Joe said. "I don't think it's right, so I'm getting out of football." Might the differences be resolved? "I hope so," he replied. "The last thing I want to do is quit."

For Astronaut Jomes McDivitt, it all started with a big night at Paris' plush Lido, where he got the VIP treatment from the clubs' showgirts. The next morning McDivitt hussled out to the Air Show, where he and fellow Apollo 9 Crewmen Dovid Scott and Russall Schweickart showed Cosmonauts Viasonweickart showed Cosmonauts viasonwei



McDIVITT IN PARIS Saluting Snoopy.

vodka, they were saluting everything from Snoopy to space medicine. Toasted to a light crisp, the space traveless finally piled onto their Vespas and seooted back to the American pavilion—two hours late for their ensuing engagement.

Many a politician has livened his campaign by touring an Indian reservation. posing for photographers in a feathered headdress, then stowing the war bonnet in a closet. Arizona's Senator Barry than that. He proudly answers to the tribal name of Barry Sun Dust, also speaks Navajo with near-fluency. Just to cement his tribal connections, he has now hired as his Washington receptionist Yozzie Leonard, 20, a beautiful, full-blooded Navaio who majored in dramatic arts at Phoenix College. Barry interviewed Yazzie for more than an hour in her native tongue, then gave her the job on the spot.

The printed word is not en route to oblivion. That reassuring information comes from Dr. Marshall McLuhan, who has been prophesying the demise of reading for years (and doing his best to hurry it into an early grave by writing some of the most perishable prose in memory). "The book is a very special form of communication," McLuhan told the annual convention of the American Booksellers Association in Washington. "It is unique and it will persist. the nation's leading exponent of electronic communication, however, McLuhan could not resist at least one die at the reading public, which he says is made up of "print freaks." The United States, he said, "is the only country founded on literacy-on the Gutenberg press. Therefore, it is having the hardest time adapting to the electronic age."

It has been quite a few years, after all, and a fellow can forget. When the Duke and Duchess of Windsor arrived in New York City for a holiday, the duke made arrangements to fly to Akron to visit an old friend, Industrialist Nathan Cummings. Regrettably, the day he chose turned out to be his 32nd wedding anniversary. Still, appointments must be kept, so the duke flew off as scheduled to tour Cummings' Lawson Milk plant and address a luncheon gathering at Silver Lake Country Club, Said he, ruefully, "The duchess took a dim view of my leaving her alone on this special day." Then he hurried back to Manhattan with a gift of atonement: 32 containers of Lawson's ice cream, each a different flavor.

From Merle Oberon to Vanessa Redgrave, a host of splendid British actresses have portrayed Anne Boleyn. Now a French Canadian, Geneviève Bujold, 26, who starred in the critically ac-



Stealing notices.

claimed movie Isabel, is getting a crack at the coveted part. In London for the filming of the latest version of Anne of the Thousand Days. Geneviève won generous praise from her leading man. Richard Burton, "She seems to me like a very pert tart-in the proper sense," he "I have no doubt she will steal all the notices." King Richard also indicated that playing Henry VIII might be the capstone of his movie career, which should cheer those who think his talents are wasted in films. "Much of acting is tedium for me now," he reflected, "I've suddenly realized that doing nothing is marvelous. What I'd like to do is appear in two plays-Sartre's The Devil and King Lear-and then just disappear from view.

Arkansas celebrates its 150th anniversary as a U.S. territory this year. and Lily Peter, a wealthy, plantationowning spinster, decided that a musical tribute would be just the thing to mark the occasion. Trouble is, she conceded, "we are as far removed from the great world of music as if we lived on the rings of Saturn." So Miss Peter, 73, persuaded Composer Norman Dello Joio to write a special work for the sesquicentennial, then hired Eugene Ormandy and his Philadelphia Orchestra to come to Little Rock to play it. She mortgaged a small portion of her land to foot the \$60,000 bill, meticulously planned the concert to the last detail (even making sure that none of the musicians was allergic to magnolias). Last week the orchestra performed Dello Joio's suite, Homage to Haydn, and Ormandy himself embraced Miss Peter onstage. She is, said Ormandy, "a new lady in my life, but very close to my heart already."



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SPORT

HORSE RACING

The Spoiler

Rarely in its 101-year history, had the Belimon Stakes so thoroughly rate of its billing as the "Test of the Champion." Never, in fact, had the classic race hosted the likes of Migstelle Prince, the only horse in history to enter the Kentucky Derby, the Presidence and longest leg of racing 8 Triple Crown. The strapping clusterus coth had run and longest leg of racing 8 Triple Crown. the strapping clusterus coth had run and longest leg of racing 8 Triple Crown the strapping clusterus coth had run and be would have been the first thorough-bred to take the Triple Crown since Elization turned the trick in 1948.

Unlike Citation, who won in a breeze were a middling field, Majestie Prince was not wanting for competition in the six-horse field. Rokeby Stable's Arts and Letters, the tireless little sprinter who challenged the Prince right down to the wire in the Derby and the Preak. The present the prince of the prince right down to the wire in the Derby and the Preak on the William of the

Cripple Crown. Though Majestic Prince went to the post as the 13-to-10 favorite, he was bucking more formidable odds in the past two decades, only four other horses had come into the Belmont with a chance of taking the Triple Crown. Tim Tam in 1958, Carry Back in 1961, Northern Dancer in 1964 and Kauai King in 1966 all

Sensitive to the demands of what he calls the "Cripple Crown," Trainer Johnny Longden wanted to pull Majestic



ARTS AND LETTERS WINNING BELMONT Successful psych.

Prince out of the race and give him a rest. He was overruled by the horse's owner. Canadian Oil Millionaire Frank McMahon. Trainer Elliott Burch had no such fears. As if to prove Arts and Letter's stamina, the entered him in the \$116.500 Metropolitian at Aqueduct a won convinciply and thus, sub- Borch, went into the Belmont with a distinct "psychological advantage."

The psych worked. The Belmont got of to such a slow start that in the backstretch Dike loped to a five-length lead. With a half-mile to go, Jockey Braulio Baeza eased Arts and Letters through an opening and went to the front. Jockey Bill Hartack, apparently thrown off stride by the slow early nage made his stride by the slow early nage made his

ey Bill Hartack, apparently thrown off such that he show early pace, made hid to the show early pace, made had save as to late. Do the homestretch, it was too late. Do the homestretch, it was too late. Do the he had and won apparent hid had been such as too late. Disk third. The game little Prince, with Disk third. The game little coll picked up first-prize money of \$104,050 and new status as one of the Bell-mont's foremost sopiers.



Keeping Up with Jones

Among New York's baseball fans, who have had little solace since the decline of the Yankees began four years ago, a quiet hysteria was developing last week. Before their unbelieving eves, the tanglefoot New York Mets were turning into a team of superlatives. As they beat San Diego 5 to 3, at week's end the Mets were riding an eightgame winning streak, longest in their eight-year history. Their 26th victory against only 23 losses raised their percentage to .531, their highest ever.* The streak also propelled the Mets into second place in the National League's Eastern Division, the first time they have been so high in league standings. The one player who gets most of the credit for the Mets' historic performance is Leftfielder-First Baseman Cleon Jones. Last week the still-unheralded Jones,

with a percentage that howered around the 345 mark, was bunched with three other players in a race for the batting leadership of the National League. In recognition of Jones' fearsome reputation at the plate, opposing pitchers-recently walked him three times (twice intentionally) in one game, an honor rarely afforded anemic Met batters.

Out in Front. At 26, Jones is, by Mets' standards, a grizzled veteran. For years, he has been yearning for a 300-plus batting average. His trouble in the past, he believes, stemmed from well-meaning managers who insisted that he pull the ball loward Shea Stadium's beckoning lefffield fences. Cleen du-

 Except for the start of this year and 1966, when 2-1 records gave the Mets a brief but heady percentage of .667.



Delirious dreams.

tifully followed their advice until the middle of the 1968 season, when he decided in a fit of frustration to return to his natural saving. He has been hitting better than 300 ever since. "I'm a line-drive hitter," he explains. "and I have to hit the ball where it's pitched. When you swing for the fences, you get out in front of the pitch, and that's what ruined me before."

In addition to being a walking contradiction in terms-a Met slugger -Jones has another proud distinction. He is one of the few players in majorleague history to be a righthanded batter and a lefthanded thrower. He came by his aberration honestly, while growing up in Mobile. Ala., the town that also produced Satchel Paige. Hank Aaron, Willie McCovey, Billy Williams and Met Teammate Tommie Agee. played stickball when we were kids." he explains, "and there was this porch on the first-base side. If you hit the ball up there it was lost, and it wasn't easy to get another one. So naturally, when I came up to the plate lefthanded, they made me switch over. That's

really how it happened. To His Head. Although he has become a favorite of New York sportswriters and fans, who are showering him with years of pent-up adulation, Jones has remained modest and unassuming. "I think he has handled all the attention like a real big leaguer, says Mets Manager Gil Hodges, But there is one thing that goes to Jones' head: the barrage of pitches from National League hurlers, who are employing the traditional retaliatory weapon against a hot hitter. Cleon is not intimidated. He sprawls in the dirt, dusts himself off, clutches his bat and plants his feet solidly again-while delirious Met fans dream their impossible dreams.

EDUCATION

STUDENTS

The Legislatures React

Among the fruits of this year's campus disorders is a harvest of state laws that student activists might well ponder this summer. Reflecting majority disapproval across the country, the laws will make campus protest far riskier next fall. Some disruptive tactics, in fact, are now legally defined as felonics, with penalties of up to five and even ten vears in prison.

In California, the state legislature is digging out from a blizzard of 100 bills, many of them originally introduced for political mileage rather then pas-

sage. A legislative committee has winnowed those bills to twelve proposed laws and resolutions. If enacted, as expected, the measures will make it a misdemeanor to disturb the peace of any campus, command additional campus disciplinary action against convicted students, cancel their state financial aid for two years. and require all public campuses to develop specific codes of student behavior. New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller has vetoed three stringent bills as "premature," including one that would have taken away disrupters' state scholarships. Even so, Rockefeller has signed three other bills that outlaw unauthorized firearms on campus, require new codes of campus behavior, and create a state commission to study the

causes of college unrest.

According to a 50-state survey, conducted for Time by the National Education Association, most legislatures have ignored the reasons for student protest in favor of simply halting it. At least eleven states have passed new laws aimed at curbing campus disruptions, although not all the bills have vet been signed by the respective Governors. These states are Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Minnesota, Nevada, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin and South Carolina, where the bill provides for the immediate expulsion of disrupters after a hearing. Oklahoma's law (now signed) specifies that persons convicted of inciting riots can be impris-

oned for ten years.

Several states have passed laws aimed at keeping non-student agitators off campus. The legislatures of Colorado, Oklahoma, Maryland and Tennessee have approved bilis that apply private trespass rules to public campuses, or otherwise control the presence of non-students. Tennessee's law makes it a fellony for non-students.

property "to incite, participate in, aid or assist a riot." Possible penalty: five years in the state penitentiary.

Rolus for Riots. Tactics in other states range from mere admonition to measures of sharp severity. Indiana's legislature passed on new laws, but Governor Edgar D. Whitcomb officially remided trustees in the state university system that they may be replaced if they do not back up the Governor's "respectful demand" for absolute compliance with existing laws.

West Virginia went to the other extreme by enacting what may be the most sweeping anti-riot law in the country. The new law, which went into ef-



"JUDGING FROM THEIR MOOD, I'D SAY SOCIETY IS ABOUT READY TO PASS REPRESSIVE LAWS!"

feet last week, empowers state troopers. sheriffs or mayors to invoke riot-control procedures, bypassing the old requirement that a judge or justice of the peace must declare that a civil disturbance is a riot. Law officers can deem anyone a rioter who fails to obey a lawful order or provide requested assistance. The police are free to deputize onlookers, who will automatically be guiltless if any person present is subsequently killed or wounded, provided The law allows officers to cordon off any area, prohibit the sale of guns or alcohol, impose curfews, and enter private dwellings when in fresh pursuit of a rioter or when searching for firearms or explosives. Violation of any orders under the law can mean a fine of \$500, six months in jail, or both.

The backlash against student violence continues to gain strength. In North Carolina, for example, the state legislature is now weighing five bills dealing with campus disorder, with penalties ranging from revocation of scholarships to six months in jail. Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin all have legsislation pending, and other states are still to be heard from.

KUDOS

Round 2

Court

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Arthur J. Goldberg, D.C.L., former Ambassador to the United Nations and Associate Justice of the Supreme

Henry Steele Commager, L.L.D.,

historian.

Thant, I.L.D., Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Roy Wilkins, I.I..D., executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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have shown that love is not lessened
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Coretta Scott King, L.H.D. widow of the Rev. Martin Luther King Ir. You have, as wife, as mother, as Christian woman walked the hard road of nonviolence in fighting for human freedom.

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Walter Cronkite, I. H.D., TV newsman,
Edward Moore Kennedy, I.I.D. Senator from Massachusetts. Aeross that chasm between youth and the Establishment—the generation gap —you are a mighty bridge.
Archibald MacLeish, I. H.D. poet.

David Riesman, LL D., sociologist, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Daniel P. Moynthan, I.I. D. urbanologist and special assistant to President Nixon. Edmund S. Muskic, LI. D. Senator

Edmund S. Muskic, E.I. D. Senator from Maine. For many of us today he stands in the Government as the very embadiment of human decency. George P. Shultz, I.I. D. Secretary of Labor.

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MEDICINE

Pain: Search for Understanding and Relief

VIRTUALLY every man has experienced pain and therefore knows just how it feels. But he cannot tell anybody else what it is really like. Pain cannot even be precisely defined. Lay and medical dictionaries alike offer essentially circular definitions of it as hurt, distress or suffering-pain is pain. Half the medical textbooks say little about it, except for extreme and uncommon forms, and doctors learn correspondingly little about it in medical school. The great British physiologist Sir Charles Sherrington described pain as "the psychical adjunct of an imperative pro-tective reflex." More simply, pain is what the victim perceives in his mind after he has touched a hot stove-and reflexively pulled back his hand to guard against further burn damage.

Pattern of Responses. It is only since World War II that the investigation of pain has been pursued as energetically as the search for disease-causing microbes. One of the difficulties that must be understood, says University of Wisconsin Psychologist Richard A. Sternbach, is that pain is not a "thing," certainly not a single, simple thing, but an abstract concept used by observers to describe three different things: "1) A personal, private sensation of hurt; 2) a harmful stimulus, which signals current or impending tissue damage; and 3) a pattern of responses, which operates to protect the organism from harm." Sternbach concedes that his use of "hurt" in the first part of his redefinition is circular, but insists that the important con-

sideration is the total How a pain researcher views this pattern depends mainly on his specialty. Sternbach told a pain symposium last month at the City of Hope Medical Center in Duarte, Calif. Each investigator, he said, is "locked in" to thinking of pain in his own terms. Thus the psychologist views it as a basic, elementary sensation like sight or hearing. To the psychiatrist, it is an affect or emotion, like depression or anxiety; to the analvst, the product of an internal psychic conflict; to the neurologist or neurosurgeon, a pattern of neurophysiological activity. The biologist emphasizes its survival value. The existential phi-Josopher, Frederik J. J. Buytendiik, regards pain as a potentially characterbuilding phenomenon that unites an individual with the rest of humanity in its existential suffering.

Specialists in these related sciences have begun to seek a common language to describe the many varieties of pain, to chart its pathways from the burned finger or the stubbed toe to the brain, to assess its total impact, and to find better ways of relieving it. Mind doctors and body doctors are at last recognizing that in their evolving concern with pain they are really talking about the same thing in different terms. Increasingly, they realize that even the most obviously real and physical pain. as from a burn or a fracture, is processed in the mind. By the application of psychotherapeutic techniques, notably hypnosis, they are teaching patients to control their reactions to such pain.

Thick and Thin, First, researchers must answer a basic question: how is pain felt? As long ago as 1826, Johannes Peter Müller promulgated the "law of specific nerve energies." He suggested that stimulation of specific pain receptors in the skin, like those for heat or pressure, sends impulses along specific nerve fibers to equally specific parts of the spinal cord and brain. This concept has since been called the "direct telephone-line system." The latest research shows that the system is by no means so simple as direct dialing. It is full of crossovers and redundancies, creating the effects of multiple conference calls

and party lines.

Even the slightest, sharpest pinprick or the pulling of a single hair activates not one nerve fiber but many. Any one fiber, it appears, may be sensitive to more than one kind of painful stimulus. The fibers are not all alike but fall into two main classes, some that are microscopically thin and others that are relatively thick. The fine-fiber circuits can actuate the heavy-fiber circuits, which may reinforce or prolong the sensation of pain. So charting the pathways of pain-from the surface pinprick through the relays of the nervous system to parts of the brain where it is perceived and interpreted, perhaps with emotional overtones-is more complex than wiring a computer.

As neurophysiologists now see it, when a man gets a shot of penicillin in the buttock, the stab sends an impulse along the nerve fibers to the fourth lumbar vertebra (see diagram). Then the impulse travels upward and soon crosses over to the opposite side of the spinal cord for its journey toward the brain. Along the way it triggers an automatic reflex that causes the man to flinch and tighten his gluteal muscle. After the impulse reaches the thalamus, a major (and evolutionally ancient) junction box at the base of the brain, where it is perceived as pain, it proceeds to the cortex. Only in this, the newest and most advanced part of the brain, is the entire painful sensation fully processed and interpreted.

How it is interpreted depends as much on the pained as on the pain. For in most everyday situations, the emotional component is more significant than the underlying sensation. A man getting a penicillin shot knows that "it's for his own good" and accepts the little stab without protest. A four-year-old who cannot grasp this concept will probably scream. The adult will almost certainly make some vocal protest if he is taken unawares, and he may do so at the first touch of the dentist's drill if he has been expecting it to hurt. Both surprise and fearful anticipation are elements in reactions to pain.

It's All Real. Some people who evince little or no vocal or visible reaction when they are obviously hurt say they have a high threshold for pain. Many more, who do not try to suppress their feelings, admit to having a low thresh-



old. There is no physiological evidence of any differences in the pain sensors and therefore in the basic pain sensations in these two groups. Whatever differences there are apparently exist entirely in the emotional reactions. These also vary with cultural attitudes. The stoicism of the American Indian and the Chinese is proverbial, although ethnic variations in sensitivity have not been proved. Descendants of "old American" families make a greater effort to suppress their reactions to pain than other cultural groups, such as Italians, among whom an outery is socially acceptable For yet others, the "wailing wall" psychology provides a rationale: the vocal protest is supposed to ease the pain. Many a man will groan aloud to alleviate cramping pains in his belly, though he may remain silent under other kinds of pain.

The one personality trait, regardless of culture, that most consistently accompanies exaggerated sensitivity to pain, says Sternbach, is neurotic anxtety. This is not the anxiety associated with a specific situation, such as an impending operation, but the persistent, seemingly baseless anxiety that often has its roots in the unconscious. From many observations. Sternbach concludes: "The quiet, brooding, anxious and resentful individual is the one who is most likely to have symptoms of pain and is least able to tolerate them. By contrast, victims of the more crippling emotional illnesses, the psychoses, are far less likely to complain of pain

If pain exists without letup, says Neurosurgeon Benjamin L. Crue of the City of Hope, the chances are 10 to 1 that it is neurotic or at least psychogenic. "Organic pain doesn't work that way," says Crue. "It comes and goes, with a few exceptions such as some cases of cancer. Nearly all the rest of the pain that patients call 'constant' or 'unremitting' is psychological." This is not to say that such pain is not "real." Most medical authorities now agree with Sternbach, who says: "Excluding the malingerer, who by definition is a deliberate faker, all pain is real." It does no good for a doctor to say "It's all in your mind." The important thing for the pain-relieving physician to do is to determine the source of the pain, whether in mind or body, or even in the amputee's "phantom limb," and then select the most effective treatment.

Stay the Knife. Technically, the total suppression of pain comes only with anesthesia, which cannot be prolonged. The lighter state of analgesia, or relief of pain without loss of consciousness, is far more difficult to achieve. For cancer patients with intractable pain of indisputably physical origin, neurosurgeons have devised a number of radical operations. One of the commonest, for pain anywhere below the neck, is cordotomy-literally, cutting the spinal cord-a remedy that is less drastic than it sounds. In the standard operation, the cord is exposed and a small cut is made in the nerve bundles controlling the pain-afflicted area. The so-called cut may actually be a finy electrical burn. Crue and his colleagues have just reported a refinement, in which small electrodes are implanted through the skin and left in place, so that the treatment and left in place, so that the treatment consigned proceedings involve cutting the resolve of nerves at the spine to relieve cancer pain in the lower end of the backbone, and cutting or chemically killing the trigeninal nerve in the face to half the agonizing stabs of the dendurerant.

the most agonizing form of neuralgia.

Many neurosurgeons would stay the kmfe it they could, and are joining with pharmacologists to develop better ways of relieving pain with drugs. As many as 65% of ne douloureux victims can be treated effectively, says Crue.



PSYCHOLOGIST STERNBACH
Benefits through a side door.

with drugs originally designed to control epileptic seizures. For the relief of severe pain of virtually every kind, morphine and its synthetic analogues remain the most potent drugs known,4 but all are highly addicting and need to be taken in stepped-up doses to maintain a constant level of analgesta. Supposedly nonaddicting substitutes are exultantly reported almost every year by research chemists, and are found just as regularly to be addicting in proportion to their effectiveness. Aspirin remains the most widely useful and, for most patients, the safest of analgesics, despite its limited potency

The newest and most significant advances in relief and control of pain have come through the side door, from psychiatry. Three in number, they involve the use of psychotropic drugs, the application of standard psychother-

 With the exception of heroin, which no U.S. physician may legally possess or prescribe, although it is still used in Britain and some other countries. apeutic techniques, and hypnosis. First of the drugs to find favor was chlor-promazine (Thorazine), used to reduce the sewere anxiety of patients with advanced caneer. Serendipitously, it was found that when their anxiety was less-ened, so was their perception of pain—though not necessarily the underlying sensation. Many a patient said: "Doctor. I still feel the pain, but it doesn't both-

er me so much. As psychologists and psychiatrists probed further into the emotional components of pain, they realized that if anxiety is dominant for some patients, depression is for others. So doctors have now begun prescribing such mood-elevating drugs as imipramine (Tofranil), amitryptiline (Elavil) and a related compound, Triavil. Patients being treated with these drugs are able to function normally in everyday activities, and are allowed to drive cars. As with the tranquilizers, it is mainly the perception of pain that is altered, although some grateful patients report that their pain has actually been eliminated. Standard psychotherapy, both on a one-to-one doctor-patient basis and in groups, has also proved highly effective in relieving patients' perception of pain and their reactions to it. Presumably it does so by allaying their anxiety or lifting them

out of depression. Filter the Hurt. The newest and most striking psychiatric approach to the relief of pain is through hypnosis. In recent years, medical hypnotism has gained acceptance, and a leading exponent is Manhattan's Dr. Herbert Spiegel, What he teaches his patients, says Spiegel, is the art of handling pain so that it cannot tyrannize over them: "The patient ness over the pain area, and to filter the hurt out of it. He does this through a focused awareness, like being absorbed in a task." In the days before medical hypnotism, a man might have focused his awareness away from his broken leg by biting his finger or his lip. Now, says Spiegel, about 80% of people can be hypnotized; only 20% may go into a deep trance, but for the others the lighter trance state is sufficient to reduce the perception of pain.

With hypnosis, many victims of incurable cancer can have their morphine dosage reduced by two-thirds, if not eliminated. Clearly, in these cases and in other disabiling, recurrent pains such as migraine, the signals received and transmitted by the nerve theres are not altered. What is changed is the mental perception and processing of pain.

It is upon these mental aspects of pain that medical researchers must concentrate, since there is no prospect that research the medified. Along the research that research the research that research the research that research the research that the

Now you don't have to wash your dishes before you wash your dishes.



General Electric has built into its 1060 dishwashers a soft food disposer that grinds up and washes away practically any leftovers except bones.

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THE LAW

THE SUPREME COURT Firm Against Evasion

Though sometimes divided on other

issues, the Supreme Court has been nearly united in its determination to root out racial injustice in the U.S. Last week the court reacted firmly against efforts to evade either its own pronouncements or laws against discrimination. In the three most important racial cases of the current session, the court:

▶ Unanimously required the Montgomery County. Ala., board of education to assign teachers and other staff members to each of its schools this year in a ratio of at least one black to every five whites. In so ruling, the court supported a quota system for the first time -and may well have opened a Pan-



PETITIONERS KYLES & DANIEL Proof in the paddle boats

dora's box of litigation involving race quotas in such areas as industrial promotions, school admissions and housing rentals. The quota, which was originally ordered by District Judge Frank Johnson, had been pronounced too inflexible a standard by a federal appeals court But Justice Hugo Black, expressing the opinion of the Supreme Court, declared that it was necessary to "expedite, by means of specific commands, the day when a completely unified, unitary, nondiscriminatory school system becomes a reality instead of a hope "

Ruled 7 to 1 that a literacy test required for voting in Gaston County, N.C., discriminated against blacks because the county had denied them equal educational opportunities. The literacy test, which made ability to read and write segments of the Constitution a qualification for voting, was declared a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. Even if the county today offers a better education to young Negroes, the court decided, this "does nothing for their parents, 'Impartial' administration of the literacy test today would

serve only to perpetuate inequities. Declared that the Lake Nixon Club, a whites-only, 232-acre amusement park near Little Rock, Ark., had illegally excluded Negroes, By a 7-to-1 vote, the court ruled in favor of two Little Rock Negroes-Rosalyn Kyles and Doris Daniel who had been denied membership at Lake Nixon. The "club," decided the court, was really a "public accommodation" involved in interstate commerce and was forbidden by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to discriminate against the women. In a lone dissent, Justice Black argued that Lake Nixon was in an isolated spot unlikely to attract any out-of-state travelers. But the majority pointed out that the owners advertised in periodicals that were available at tourist centers. Even though Lake Nixon provided no spectator sports, the court declared, it was a place of public entertainment. Besides, it had leased 15 paddle boats from an Oklahoma firm, its jukebox was made in another state, and the ingredients of three out of four items served at the snack bar come from outside Arkansas.

Curbing Courts-Martial

While out on the town for a few beers in 1956, an Army sergeant named James O'Callahan broke into the hotel room of a teen-age girl on Watkiki Beach. There was a scuffle, the girl screamed. O'Callahan fled. He was later arrested by Hawaiian civilian police. turned over to the military for prosecution and charged with housebreaking. assault and attempted rape. At a courtmartial, O'Callahan was convicted and given ten years at hard labor-a penalty harsher than he could have expected from many a civilian court.

As it threw out that conviction last the U.S Supreme Court indicated that the military's jurisdiction over such civilian crimes would henceforth he severely limited. In peacetime, ruled a 5-to-3 majority, unless the alleged crime is "service-connected," an accused serviceman in the U.S. may not be deprived of his constitutional rights to a grand jury proceeding and a trial by a jury of his peers. In O'Cal-lahan's case, Justice William Douglas wrote for the majority, "there was no connection-not even the remotest one -between his military duties and the crimes in question." Normally, the military prosecutes only about 15% of all cases against servicemen charged with serious civil offenses. The rest are handled in civilian courts. But Douglas suggested that it was high time for the military to divorce itself entirely from

· Paroled in 1960, O'Callahan was imprisoned again after his conviction on a rape charge in Massachusetts. Released once more in 1966. he was returned to Federal prison for vio lating his original parole. Under last week's rulhe will be freed before completing the last few months of his military sentence

Precarious Dr. Jekyll. Douglas argued that U.S. military courts consistently dispense an inferior brand of justice. At courts-martial, he pointed out, enlisted men are tried by a panel that is usually composed of officers, who reach their verdict by a two-thirds vote, instead of by a jury of their peers whose verdict must nearly always be unanimous. The Uniform Code of Military Justice, Douglas noted, continues to be primarily an instrument of discipline and not justice. He indicted the system as "marked by the age-old manifest destiny of retributive justice" and as "singularly inept in dealing with the nice subtleties of constitutional law."

In a dissenting opinion, Justices Potter Stewart, Byron White and John Marshall Harlan complained that the decision furnishes few guidelines for selecting the type of crime that would be considered "service-connected." The ruling, they argued, puts the law into a "demoralizing state of uncertainty." The three Justices contended that the military has the right to purge criminals whose attitudes might corrupt others in the ranks. "The soldier who acts the part of Mr. Hyde while on leave," they said, "is at best a precarious Dr. Jekyll when back on duty

The language of the majority opinion leaves open the possibility that a Supreme Court composed of members with different views may some day dilute the impact of the O'Callahan decision by defining broadly the kinds of offenses that are in some way service-connected. Nevertheless, the opinion establishes a strong precedent for wider federal court review of military tribunals in the future. That sentiment was best summarized by one sentence in last week's decision: "History teaches that expansion of military discipline bevond its proper domain carries with it a threat to liberty."

DAMAGE SUITS

The Skin Trade In a rare award last week, a Parisian judge returned not only damages but the damaged property-a valuable piece of the plaintiff's anatomy-to a French girl named Claudine Perot. During filming of the movie Secret Paris in 1964, Claudine, who was then only 17, allowed a tattoo artist to decorate her buttock with a full-color rendering of the Eiffel Tower. Under the contract, the tattoo belonged to the moviemaker-Ulysee Productions-which probably wanted it for publicity purposes Accordingly, Claudine had it removed by surgery and gave it to Ulysee This year, older and a little wiser. Claudine brought suit against the company. Ruling that the studio had taken advantage of a minor, the judge ordered Ulysee Productions to return the skin, to cut the scene from the movie, and to pay for plastic surgery to repair Claudine's scar. He also awarded her \$6,000 that should help soothe her wounded pride.

This is the richest graveyard in the world.





mile area you won't find in a tourist guide. Twenty-five million years ago it was ocean bottom. Today it's a massive deposit of phosphate ore, the sediment of

Near Lakeland, Flor-

ida, lies a 200-square-

prehistoric marine life. Preserved in the ore are countless bones of sharks, whales and later four-legged mammals

Natives call it Bone Valley, and this chalky graveyard contains enough phosphates to sustain mining for 1,000 years. Florida's production (one-third of world output) goes to enrich crops as a plant food and fertilizer additive.

Dikes seven stories high Now a different kind of "monster roams the valley. Clark-built Michigan tractor scrapers are moving earth to build huge dikes. These will surround settling ponds for a residue of clay-part of the phosphate refining process. Over the next four years, eight Michigan scrapers will move 22.5 million cubic yards of clay.

Eventually the area will be reclaimed for residential and recreational use, citrus groves and farms.

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MUSIC

American Orchestras: The Sound of Trouble

AS a group, the symphony orchestras of the U.S. are unsurpassed in quality by those of any other nation in the world. Yet today they are in trouble -loud, unavoidable, cymbal-crashing financial trouble. In Buffalo and Rochester, the two Philharmonies are so pressed for funds that they are talking merger; so are the Cincinnati and Indianapolis orchestras. The Detroit Symphony, which has just emerged from a 34-day musicians' strike, is in such economic straits that it may have to disband, "Between 1971 and 1973," predicts Manhattan Fund Raiser Carl Shaver, an expert in orchestral finances, "we stand a very good chance of losing at least one-third, if not half of our major symphony orchestras.

The facts are summed up in a new tudy prepared for the nation's top five orchestras—New York, Boston, Philasediphia, Cleveland and Chicago—by the management-consultant firm of McKingots—most notably, sharply increased sale—see the national properties of the proper

less drastic steps are taken. Into Bankruptcy. So large are the deficits that orchestras have been forced to dip into endowments to survive. In the past five years, the Chicago Symphony has had to dip into its endowment so regularly that it has shrunk from \$6.200,000 to \$1.000,000. In Cleveland, the orchestra is about to tap its endowment fund for \$600,000 to help meet a 1968-69 deficit of \$1,100,-000, If the same thing happens next says Orchestra President Alfred M. Rankin, the endowment fund will be wined out, and the orchestra built by George Szell over the past 23 years into one of the world's finest may have to disband or go into bankruptcy

The New York Philharmonic, Boston Symphony and Philadelphia Orchestra are not that badly off, but they are sufficiently worried to have joined a newly created committee of managers and orchestra presidents. A major concern is the symphonies' lucrative recording agreements, which may be endangered by the contract signed in April with the American Federation of Musicians. The new rules, affecting length of sessions and overtime pay, will make recording in the U.S. at least 20% more expensive, and thus may force record companies to sign up more orchestras abroad, where labor costs are lower

There are a few encouraging exceptions to the battle against poverty—notably in Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Salt Lake City and Atlanta—but the crisis situation is nationwide. Six years ago, the

Detroit Symphony had an earned annual meome of \$550,000, which left it only \$400,000 to raise to meet a \$950,000 budget. This past season, the or-chestra's earned income rose to \$900,000 —but its budget soared to \$2,200,000. The Los-Angeles Philammonic's deficit of \$500,000 in 1966 has increased to \$1,100,000 for 1969.

One reason for the crisis is that money for the arts is tighter than it has been in years. Because of more pressing social needs, the Federal Government, as well as many state governments, trons who support them—and by and large, the patrons like Beethoven. Brahms and Tchaikovsky. This does not mean that the orchestras would automatically attract larger audiences with avant-garde programs. The real problem is attracting the young today so that there will be an audience tomorrow.

Boston Symphony Music Director Firich Leinsdorf insists that "the real crisis is musical, and it can only be solved musically. For over two decades there roque music. The orchestras have done nothing about it. There is a growing interest in avant-garde music. Nothing is being done." No one objects to preserving the musterpieces of the past, as musical experies feel that there may be



MINNESOTA ORCHESTRA REHEARSING AT HIGH SCHOOL What is missing is the jingle of coins.

has cut back its spending on culture Much of the money that formerly came from the big corporations is now going into the ghettos. As for private donors, explains the Los Angeles Philharmonic's Zubin Mehta, the same reliable philanthropists also give to museums, hospitals and universities, and they have just about reached the limit of giving. Foundation money, like the \$80.2 million that Ford gave to 61 orchestras in 1966, must be matched by orchestraraised funds; many of the symphonies have not yet found the donations to qualify for such grants. "Every year our expenses go up," says Mchta, "but the donations remain the same

Some critics of American orchestral life contend that the real trouble is that the symphony has been for too long a plaything of the wealthy. Even though symphony-going is not dominated by the rich to the extent that it was 40 years ago, it is still a formal experience that mean turned-on your horizontal and a static, outmoded and irrelevant. As the conservative, 20th control principles of the control of the

more orchestral museums than are needde, English Conductor Colin Davis, 41, a strong possibility to head either the New York Philharmonic or the Boston Symphony some day, is one of them. "You devalue your masterpeeces if you play them every week," he says. "If it is something you have too much of, like sex and breakfast, then it doesn't mean anything any more."

Civic pride is strong, and tew orchestras really want to quit. Because of union-backed demands, the big five al-ready are operating 52 weeks out of the year. At first glance, it might seem that a longer season would automatically mean more income. But since every concert by every orchestra is a deficit atfair, more concerts mean a larger deficit. Los Angeles has expanded its annual schedule from 37 weeks to 46 in the past three years, and the musicians are pushing hard for 52. "Sure. the schedule is murderous," says A.F.M. President Herman Kenin, "But the goal is not 52 weeks but 52 checks. The musician has to pay the mortgage on his house, educate his children and feed his wife all year, not just 40 weeks.

Orchestra managers do not begrudge



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the missieans their salaries. Says Persident Talcott Banks of the Boston Symphony, which now has a guaranteed minimum wage of \$14,000 for \$5 weeks minimum wage of \$14,000 for \$5 weeks were now paying was long over-due." Instead, the concern of orchestra officials is about how to use their players hroughout the \$2-week working over-throughout the \$5-week working plight of the orchestra to that of "a manufacturer who had a market for 1,000-000 bolts, and as a result of the union contract was chreed to turn out 2,000-000 bolts, and result of the union contract was chreed to turn out 2,000-000 bolts, and result of the union of the property of the contract was chreed to turn out 2,000-000 bolts, and the property of the property o

No Semantic Gimmick, Conductors Mehta and Leinsdorf believe that the disadvantages of high labor costs and long seasons can in the long run be turned into assets. Mehta thinks that the eventual answer will be an orchestra in every major American city that will serve several musical purposes. "The only way seasons can be enlarged indefinitely is by giving symphony and opera," says Mehta, "then breaking up the orchestra-making chamber-music groups, moving around the countryside, going out to the people," Leinsdorf goes Mehta one better. "The solution is not to make the orchestra smaller but to make it larger, 120 in all, instead of 100 or 106. It would have three divisions within it: a baroque ensemble of 26 players or so, a modern ensemble of eight to 20, and the regular 19th century orchestra, which usually

has about 75 musicians. For many U.S. orchestras, one potential pattern for the future is the success formula of the former Minneapolis Symphony. In 1966, at the time of its \$2,000,000 Ford grant, a study was made of anticipated income and costs for the next five years. The directors decided that by 1971 the symphony needed to raise a minimum of \$10 million. if it was to have a chance of coming out on top. But how? First, the organization's name was changed to the Minnesota Orchestra. More than just a semantic gimmick, that symbolized the orchestra's intention to become regional rather than a municipal enterprise. As a result, it could now zero in on large, untapped financial sources in Saint Paul and other Minnesota communities. Under Polish Confuctor Stanislaw Skrowaczewski, who had been programming an imaginative spectrum of Western music, the orchestra began presenting school concerts all over the state, lowering student-ticket prices at Northrop Auditorium in Minneapolis to \$1. When it became apparent that new audiences were being reached, donations from previously untapped sources began to pour in. As of last week, the Minnesota Orchestra had nearly reached its \$10 million goal.

The lesson to be learned from the Minneapolis experience is that each or-chestra must devise ways to serve its community better. As Shaver warns: "You cannot raise endowments by trying to finance the status quo."

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TRENDS

Beyond Nightmare

Beauty has never been the exclusive subject of artists, or even their aim. As poets and painters have discovered over the centuries, hell is far more dramatic than heaven. Most painters look with an equal eve on both, as the fancy moves them. But some few, and among them some of the great, have had an obsession for the ugly, and seemed intent on making it uglier. Like T. S. Eliot's Webster, they always saw the skull beneath the loveliest skin. In a time when many artists have become so detached that they try to banish the figure altogether, and sculptors can order their works from the nearest hardware store. a growing number of gifted artists are deeply and emotionally committed to expressing their distaste for the world, embodying their rage and resentment in powerful if often ugly images. Many of these new "horror" artists

have been well received in gallery exbibitions during the past year orso. Manhattan's. Whitney Museum is planning to put together an exhibition of the top the past of the past of the past of the tumn, although Associate Curator Robterior Settler. "There's been a continuous stream of this kind of expressionistic stream of this kind of expressionistic stream of the kind of expressionistic ward." says he, "Look at Ghya, Look at Bosch." For that matter, look at Chicago's Ivan Albright, California's Edavard Kienhütz. or New York Lucas

Fantasy Window. One outstanding member of the "new grotesques" is Gregory Gillespie, 32, a native of New Jersey who now lives in Rome and shows at Manhattan's Forum Gallery. Gillespie, who first went to Italy on a Fulbright in 1963, paints with tempera and oil on wood panels, as did Bellini and Giorgione, and loves Renaissance perspective. He limns tiny images of skinned-looking women or bloated, lecherous men as zestfully as Bosch himself, and sets them against the wall of a squalid Roman slum. Surrealistically oozing globules and pustules contrast with saints' pictures and comic-book illustrations. The result is an emphatically modern version of everyday hell, but it is more than merely nightmare for its own sake. The squalor usually serves to set off the loveliness of some verdant Tuscan mountain landscape, distantly viewed. Ot Exterior Wall with Landscape, he observes, "One might say that the window is the fantasy and the wall is reality. Every idyllic vision is out of the window and far away." Nancy Grossman, 29, a petite (5 ft.,

95 ths.) bundle of compressed fiber, is another leading member of the new horror school. Her specialty: wooden heads, tightly leather-wrapped. She came to this image when she returned to New

York City after the family tried farming in upstate New York. "I noticed how fragile people are. I saw how the human animal has to limit himself to live in our society—how he has to tie up any feelings he has that might upset the applecart."

She went to Brooklyn's Pratt Institute, won a Guggenheim for travel abroad, enjoyed a healthy success this season at Manhatan's Corder's & Ekstrom Gallery. She considers her heads, among other things, a kind of social commentary. "Look at the censored faces in the street," she says. "You can almost see people saying. I'm not going to be caught feeling." My given see a company of the control of

Underwater Prophet, Brooklyn-born Paul Thek, 35, was an early member of the Grand Guignol club. He showed exquisitely molded wax sculptures of raw gobbets of flesh in 1964 and 1965. In 1967 he expanded his repertory to display a full-sized cast of himself at Manhattan's Stable Gallery dressed as a dead hippie and laid out full length inside a pink ziggurat-shaped tomb. The cadaver was a huge success: it toured to London and the Kassel Documenta. For his show at the Stable this spring, he chose a far subtler and less sensational idea: a latex cast showing himself as an underwater swimmer with shoals of delicate small fish clinging to his sides. It was suspended from a tree in the backyard, seeming somehow both pathetic and portentous, like a drowning prophet. Says Thek: "I didn't make it to be beautiful or ugly, or bad or good. I just do it because I like it. It doesn't matter how the public reacts.

Miriam Beerman, 46, lives in Brooklyn, where her husband teaches high school. She paints such pretty topics as shrieking faces, jackals and concentration-camp victims because, as she says forthrightly, "I've always been furious at the world." Born in Providence, Mrs. Beerman studied under Yasuo Kuni-yoshi at Manhattan's Art Students League before taking off to France to immerse herself in Goya, the German expressionists, and (as her painting style shows) Britain's Francis Bacon. She is fascinated by the "natural world," and has done a series of paintings on fish. bats, owls. At the moment, she is preoccupied with lizards, which, she says, "look like man in certain stages. The drippings you'll find in my paintings are characteristic of the mire men and animals find themselves in." She quotes Flannery O'Connor to the effect that "what people consider grotesque is really reality, and what they think is reality is grotesque." Adds Mrs. Beerman: "I'm in full agreement. I really feel that I'm depicting reality. People ask



Nancy Grossman: "R.Z."

Gregory Gillespie: "Exterior Wall with Landscape"

THE NEW GROTESQUES







Paul Thek: "Fishman"

Miriam Beerman: "Little Lizard"

Erich Brauer: "Looking Back"



me if I have bad dreams. No. These paintings that I do are my bad dreams."

Extra Ear. Of all the grotesque artists at work today, perhaps the ones with the soundest and most logical reasons for being angry at the world are Vienna's five "Fantastic Realists": Rudolf Hausner, Erich Brauer, Ernst Fuchs. Wolfgang Hutter, Anton Lehmden. All underwent the real enough traumas of World War II. By what may or may not be coincidence, their admirably precise diableries are also gentler, more conventional, more philosophical, more ethereal than their American counterparts'. Though all are firmly established in their native Vienna, none had made much of a splash elsewhere until London's Marlborough Gallery mounted a show for Erich Brauer this spring.

A sometime poet who plays a mean folk guitar in his spare time. Brauer.



Beneath the loveliest skin, a skull.

40, considers his paintings essentially literary. As often as not, they depict bizarre updatings of Biblical themes. Jacob in the khaki of a kibbutznik. Noah's ark floating through the air like a UFO.

Looking Back. Brauer explains, deals "again with the problem of digesting the past. The red shape is a gas chamber, but in order to live with it. I paint it beau tiful. The green man looks back at it in directly, through a mirror. The little monsters are like the people who seemed to me monsters when I walked the streets of Vienna as a boy during the war." On the other hand, the green man has holes in his shoes simply because "it makes the feet more interesting." The folds of his trousers swirl into an extra ear. "Why not have an extra ear in one's trousers, to hear better and different things?" Brauer's point is that any man may feel green from time to time. When he does, an extra ear would be a help-but probably not enough



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SCIENCE

SPACE

Is the Earth Safe From Lunar Contamination?

Fortunately, the possibility that living organisms exist on the moon is remote. But if they do exist, and in turn infect the astronauts, the Apollo 11 flight may indeed be an historic event.

With that fronte understatement, a doctor at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston last week summarized an increasing concern among some scientists that returning astronauts may contaminate the earth with strange and perhaps dangerous bugs. His statement



EXOBIOLOGIST SAGAN
A haunting percent of uncertainty.

added fuel to a controversy that broke into the open last month when it was revealed that NASA had relaxed its elaborate quarantine plans for the Apollo II crew (Time, May 16).

Most scientists agree that there is the chance of any life existing on the moon But they differ widely on the possible consequences to earth if there are lumar organisms and any of them battle the consequence of the conseq

Escaped Fragments. The apparent boldness displayed by Anders and others stems from their strong doubts that lunar life exists and their conviction

that quantities of lunar debris have been falling on the earth's surface for billions of years. Thus, they reason, even if there are lunar organisms, terrestrial life has long been exposed to them without any catastrophic results. According to their theory, meteors often strike the moon with enough momentum to knock lunar fragments loose at escape velocities. Most such fragments captured by the earth's gravitational pull would be incinerated as they plunge through the atmosphere. But those in a certain size range, the scientists say, would drift down and arrive on earth relatively unscathed, safely delivering any organisms they might contain.

Others are more concerned. Although he agrees that organisms might survive a moon fragment's entry into the earth's atmosphere, Cornell Exobiologist Carl Sagan is less confident that they could live through the heat generated by a meteor impact on the moon. For that reason he has doubts that lunar organisms have ever reached the earth and that terrestrial life has already proved its immunity. Sagan, like most other scientists. believes that the odds are high against life existing on the moon. But he cautions that there is "an exceedingly small risk of possibly great harm" in not maintaining strict quarantine procedures for the returning Apollo 11 astronauts. "Maybe it's sure to 99% that Apollo 11 will not bring back lunar organisms. he says, "but even that one percent of uncertainty is too large to be complacent

Inadequote Quarantine. University of Rochester Biochemist Wolf Vishniae is not particularly concerned about the Apollo 11 mission, which will bring back only surface samples. But Vishniae so convinced that more elaborate quarantine precautions should be taken thereface. The process of the constraint will dig for samples from below the surface, where radiation and temperature variations are less severe and the prospects of life more likely.

Whatever the prospects for lunar life. Cornell Microbiologist Martin Alexander feels that NASA's present Apollo quarantine plans are on shaky scientific grounds and hopelessly inadequate. In discussing the plans with those in the Apollo program, he says, he has heard such statements as. "Of course, it's a but what else could we do?" and, "The public needs to be comforted. and the quarantine serves that function. Shocked by this seeming indifference to what could be a real threat. Alexander calls on NASA to reveal its quarantine plans fully and "to solicit frank opinions and criticism" from the serentific community.

In response to criticism from the Committee on Back Contamination, a group of scientists representing a variety of federal agencies, NASA has improved the complex quarantine procedures in Houston's 15.8 million Lunar Receiving Laboratory (Tibeti, Dec. 29, 1967), where the returned astronaus and their lunar samples will spend most of their threesamples will spend most of their threety has also taken makeshir neagancy has also taken makeshir neaganto plug a major gap in the quarantine delerses. the poiss-plashdown exposure of the Apollo cabin atmosphere and the astronaus themselves in the carth's

Artiseptic Solution. To minimize contamination of the command module interior, the two astronauts who walk on the lunar surface will leave their boots and gloves behind on the moon. Before they emerge from the spacecraft in the Pacific, the crew will have vacuumed the interior, collecting the swept-



BIOLOGICAL ISOLATION GARMENT A flight that could be all too historic.

up material in cansters containing a chemical absorbent. Instead of climbing through the command module's open hatch and into a raft before donning their biological isolation garments, the containing their biological isolation garments, the creater until a frogman opens the hatch, tosses the garments inside, and then closses the garments inside, and then closses it again. They will change into their bag-containing outfits and step into a raff filled with disinfectant. Then the containing outfits and step into a raff filled with disinfectant on the containing outfits and step into their containing outfits and step into the containing outfits and the containing outfits are contained outfit and the containing outfits and

Despite these elaborate decontamination procedures, however, organisme might well survive in the bodies of the astronauts and in the spacecraft atmosphere. Thus, when the craft is vented upon splashdown and when the hatch is opened twice—no matter how brief-ly—diagerous organisms could except into the air and the occan, perhaps to thrive and pose a threat in offer on the original control of the original control original con

Behind every "I do" lurks a "Can I?"



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from TIME Publisher's Letter

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THE THEATER

REPERTORY

Tapestry of Violence

Games are the wars of boys, and wars are the games of men. This is the central motif of an arrestingly unorthodox production of Henry V, which opened the American Shakespeare Festival Theater season last week at Stratford. Conn.

Director Michael Kahn puts the signature of his determined intent on the play from the outset. An improvisatory prologue serves as a metaphor for the work. In sweatshirts, football jerseys and dungarees, members of the east dribble a basketball, wrestle, somersault and shadowbox. Someone pumps back and forth on a child's swing. The seat of that swing will later serve as Harry of Monmouth's throne. The rising intensity of sticks beaten rapidly together, a rhythmic tapestry of violence, suggests a neighborhood gang rumble. One knows in one's slightly chilled bones that this war is not going to be fought on the dappled green fields of Eton but on the harsh black asphalt of a city playeround.

harsh black asphalt of a city playground. Whenever Shakeapare is presented whenever shakeapare is presented so that the shakeapare is presented to the shakeapare is as to whether gentarte pills of restorative gimmichter, have been administered, or whether the timely has retrieved the timeless. Kahn does not distribute to text. He simply looks into a with the androine eyes of a Broth. The patrottem colored in the mock-trong the shakeapare to the shakeapare to

and national honor as parochial vanity.

At its best, this approach is explicit

and visual. A bishop's red robes billow our on crinoline hoops, a carton of gluttony, indicating that the church would feed on men's lives to fatten its authority. The foot solder who delives the control of the congesting that the there are level die well that die in a battle' is a Negro, suggesting that the king rules by exploitive oppression. When the list of the French dead is read, each dead man roses with at the footlights in a solid phalms facing the auditence.

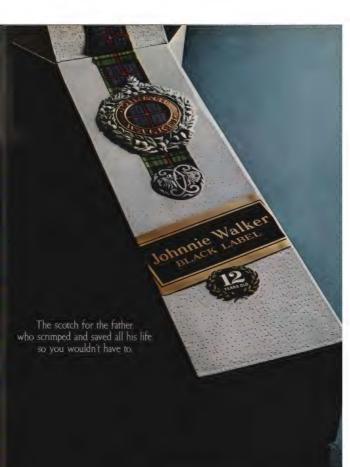
In a strenuously imaginative production some experiments must fail. Director Kahn has the leaders of France catually speak French while a man and a woman translate mto microphous to the control of the control tracting. On the other hand, a sense of the seeming invulgerability of the French forces is aptly conveyed by having them cutilited like hockey goalies. Initially, this creates the thusion of inact the control of the control of the control as the symbol of full totalitarianism.

The ultimate strength of Henry, V has to rest with the man who plays the king. It is not an enviable task, for the role will always be haunted with the ghost of Olivier and the undying memory of that shiveing heraldic cry. "God for Harry! England and Saint George!" Lee Carou lacks that hortatory magic of voice and presence. He is manly, straightforward and appealing, someone whom troops would always follow into different control of the c



On cruel playing fields of asphalt

80





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MODERN LIVING

FOOD

Trompe l'Oeil Restaurant

Simply arriving at a Larry Ellman restaurant can be a challenge to belief. A diner bound for Manhattan's Orangerie, for instance, can be picked up and delivered at the restaurant by a customerservice Citroen painted all over with orange blossoms. In the foyer he passes a concierge ready to order theater tickets or call home to see if the wife and children are O.K. Seated on a black vinyl banquette beneath the leaves of a plastic orange tree, he swills down a triple martini poured from a Boodles bottle and served in a pitcher. By then he may or may not be equal to the doubtful delight of a tough country pâté made with pistachio nuts.

One day, when somebody writes an ecnyelopacida of restaurants, the name Ellman may be close to Escoffier—and the properties of the world repes suzette and peach Melba, but in his own way Larry Ellman is equally inventive. He has given the world the ironge Food restaurant. His idea is to sell atmosphere and let air.

mosphere sell food.

in the control of the

coach rides for the kiddies. The weekly gross quintupled, from \$12,000 to \$60,000, within a year and a half.

Two years ago. Ellman decided to expand. For \$250,000 he bought control of Longchamps, a New York restaurant chain. He incorporated the Cattleman into the chain, and began buying other restaurants: concentrating on decor. His catering empire now includes 115 restaurants in seven states, and will gross an estimated \$75 million this year.

Soilor Suita, Among his latest ucquisitions are two Manhattan Inantimatis, — I uchow's, where the schutzel absent and Chales, been unadorned for decades, and Chales, in Greenwich Village, where the menuused to be sensible and the decor genteel. Now Charles has burst into a kind of bordello Byzantine, where a female harpist plusks away and the lighting is too dim to see the food fron that one would want to). So far, mercifully, Ellman, has left Luchow's alone.

But at the Steer Palace, near the new Madison Square Garden, diners perch on the observation platforms of fake railway car. At La Boulferie, waiters dressed in French sailor suits prance amongsi the tables while, over the loudspeakers. Finy Tim sings Tip Ton

Through the Tulips.

Fillman frankly concedes that his extaurants are not of gourness—We appeal to graduates of Howard Lohnson."

It is a superior to graduate of Howard Lohnson."

At Charles, there is free champagne: at the Steer Palace, a weekend "famtis plan" inneheon at which parents with children get the first child's meal free teven if it is a 56 strion steak), the second's for \$1 and all others' to hall price Dinner, dancing and "all the drinks you can drink" for \$9.95 is the bill of fare at the Riverboat in the Empire State Building; the Downheat on Lexington Avenue offers a similar package for \$1 less, with jazz instead of dancing.

The most blaamt appeal to the free loader in Everyman occurs at Cavanagh's on-West 23rd Street, where drink ing is done on the honor system; wanters brigg full whisks bottles and settings and customers are expected to tot up their own har hills. "If you tell us you only had one double hour bon well believe you," reads an aft for Cavanagh's and Ellman way. "We want the customer to feel that he's putting one over onus, that he's got the edge."

Of course, he rarely has. At La Boufferie, for example, the carate of "Côtesdu-Rhône 1965" advertised on the menu at \$1.95 turns out to be cheap Spanish wine. Still, attracted by a \$1,000,000-ayear advertising campaign, customers are flocking to Ellman's restaurants in startling numbers. Orangerie serves about 5,200 meals a week, and an offshoot of Ellman's original Cattleman. the Cattleman West, which opened last February, is already serving 1,250 people a day. Those figures are immensely satisfying to Proprietor Ellman, a onetime student of accounting from Brooklyn whose big ambition in school was to become, in his words, "a tycoon, By putting the sizzle ahead of the steak. he is well on his way.

MEMORIALS

Partying Is Such Sweet Sorrow

Most self-made millionaires memorialize themselfives by endowing schools and libraries, or giving to museums. But not Dallas' gruff, shrewd Real Estate Tycoon O. L. Nelms. For more than a decade, Nelms has placed ad-



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serissments in the personal columns of local papers saying, "Thank vou. Dal-las, for helping O. L. Nelms make another million." Now he has an even bigger and better idea the is-creating a 55,000,000 found to provide huge public cockhail parties with free food and firth for airroune who wants to aftend drink for airroune who wants to aftend the food to be a formal to be a food of the food

Mother to make a self-commenoration of not appeal to Nelms "I don't believe in education," he explained when college presidents rized to consider his don't benotly went frough the fourth grade mixself—and I consider that the last year and I consider that the last year would be self-self, be said. "If you folks would just put on billbills shows, you could be self-supporting."

Nelms is already choosing a planning loard to see to it that "nine of these parties end after just a few token drinks. I want them to rain as long as there's a crowd there to have fun." To house the parties, he recently purchased an office building near downtown Dallas and enough earths land to provide an adequate parking lot. There had to be a hight, and there

is. Although the parties will not start till after Nelms' death, Nelms wants to enjoy them too So, for every party, he has arranged with a local funeral home to have his remains wheeled out in a hig silver casket. They will stay at the party until the liast guest has gone.

O. L. Nelms is now a vigorous 61, and is in excellent health. "But when he starts talking about those parties," says an aide, "he gets the strangest gleam in his eyes. It's like he can't wait to die and get on with the fun."



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REHAVIOR

THE BODY

Man's Silent Signals

Your tace my Thane, is as a brook where men may read strange matters.

—Macheth

Even in absolute silence, animals are able to communicate with each other by an almost infinite variety of gestures and motions. In lower forms of life, such nonvocal expressions are often vital to the survival of the species. Man, of course, has the gift of speech. Yet he too is able to signal his moods and thoughts with a nonverbal vocabulary of gestures and expressions. These signals constitute a powerful silent language that is often as effective and direct as speech itself. The unspoken lexteon is becoming a subject of increasing interest to specialists in the new science of ethology (the biology of behavior), it is also providing new views into man's hidden emotional world.

Minimal Place, Among the explorers of this uncharted corner of human interaction is a team of ethologists at work under Dr. Michael Chance in Birmingham, England. In a recent issue of the British journal New Scientist, two of them. Christopher Brannigan and Dr. David Humphries, report that the team has isolated and catalogued no fewer than 135 distinct gestures and expressions of face, head and body. This human semaphore system, they explain, is not only capable of expressing an extraordinary range of emotions but also operates at a lower-and sometimes different-level of consciousness than ordinary speech

Examples of such nonverbal language are most easily observed in children under the age of six. Far less inhibited or restrained than adults, the nurseryschool toddler operates largely by means of expression and gesture; talk occupies only a minimal place in his limited culture. If, for example, a four-year-old thinks his favorite toy is about to be snatched away by another child, he probably will tense his lins and scowl, thrust out his chin and then raise his hand, as it to strike the offender with an open palm. In the ethological jargon of the Birmingham investigators, the child is in a "defensive beating posture." The more forward he holds his hand, however, the more likely he is to deliver the blow Recognizing this change to an "offensive beating posture," the oth-



CHILD IN "DEFENSIVE BEATING POSTURE"
Victory without a blow.

er child may well decide to retreat, even though not a threatening word has been exchanged.

Subtle traces of this vivid posturing ire still evident years later in adulthood. Like the angered child, grownups often turn an open palm toward those who happen to pose a verbal threat, although the gesture may be quite inconspicuous and unconscious. Women, for example, tend to make a rapid hand-to-neck movement when they are agitated, disguising it as a hair-grooming gesture. Men also exhibit similar signs of stress. Embarrassed by such a driving miscue as accidentally cutting off another motorist. they will frequently make a seemingly irrelevant sweep of their hair. Actually, the gesture represents a very real surge of inner tension or conflict. "If you find yourself doing this." Brannigan and Humphries explain, "examine your mo-



ANGRY FROWN



"RAISE"

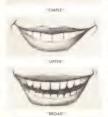
Inner bemusement to outer pleasure.

tivation honestly—you will be feeling very defensive." Under ethological examination, even

ordinary smiles take on new wrinkles. One of the most common is what the Birmingham scientists call the "simple smile," a mere upward and outward movement at the corners of the mouth. It indicates inner bemusement; no other person is involved. The "upper smile" is a slightly more gregarious gesture in which the upper teeth are exposed. It is usually displayed in social situations. such as when friends greet one another. Perhaps the most engaging of all is the "broad smile." The mouth is completels open; both upper and lower teeth are visible. It is typically seen in relaxed adults and children at play Yet, without other facial movements,

particularly around the eyes, smiles would not really mean what they seem to. For appropriate warmth, the upper smile is usually enhanced by slight changes around the outer corners of the eyes, Feen the broad smile is not allowed the eyes around the outer corners of oil surprise or pleasure unless it is accompanied by an elevation of the eye-brows, or what the researchers call a "raise." Other emotional expressions also depend on a deficate use of the eye area. In a said frown, the eyebrows will area to the eyes of the eye of the eyes of the eye of the eyes of the eye of the eyes of the

Analytical Tool, The most immediate practical application of ethological reearch is in the area of mental health. When ordinary verbal communication is partially impaired or breaks down entirely, as in the case of autistic children and schizophrenic adults, knowledge of man's nonverbal language can be an extremely useful analytical tool. By reading such unconscious gestures as movements of the fingers and hand, the Birmingham scientists point out, the psychiatrist is in a position to discover important new clues to the patient's inner turmoil. Even when the patient seems to be able to communicate verbally, a doctor may get more valuable information on the progress of the therapy from the silent signals than from the spoken words.



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MILESTONES

Married, Juliet Prowse, 32, lithe, longlimbed South African dancer; and Choreographer-Dancer Eddie James, 26; he for the second time; in Beverly Hills,

Divorced, Russell B. Long, 50, U.S. Senator since 1948 and heir to the Louisiana political fiefdom of his father. Huey ("Kingfish") Long; by Katherine Mae Long, 49: on grounds of incompatibility: after almost 30 years of marriage, two children: in Reno. Nev.

Died, Rafael Osuna, 30, Mexico's dazzling tennis star, who less than two weeks before his death achieved his greatest triumph by leading his country to a stunning 3-2 conquest of Australia in the North American Zone Davis Cup competition; in the crash of a Mexicana Airlines jetliner; near Monterrey, Mexico.

Died. Leo Ciorcey, 52. pugnacious leader of the "Dead End Kids" and the "Bowery Boys," whose rasping voice delighted generations of film buffs; of a

Died, General Sir Miles Dempsey, 72, British infantry officer who commanded the rear guard at Dunkirk, and led the British Second Army when it stormed Normandy's Gold, Juno and Sword beaches in 1944 but later passed up ofiers of higher command and resigned because "I have spent too much of my life smashing things up": in Yattendon, Eng-

Died, James P. Warburg, 72, multimillionaire financier and author of dozens of books on U.S. foreign policy (Peace in Our Time?, 1940; The West in Crisis, 1959); of a heart attack; in placed in banking. Warburg had every reason to support the established order. Instead, he became an articulate advocate of new, often radical political maneuvers, assailing such elements of U.S. policy as the refusal to seat Communist China in the U.N., and America's stress on military rather than socioeconomic solutions to the cold war.

Died, Robert G. LeTourneau, 80, giant of the earth-moving industry, who tor 33 years pledged 90% of his personal earnings to a myriad of Christian causes; of a stroke; in Longview, Texas. In an industry noted for the size the Brobdingnagian creations of LeTourheavy earth-moving equipment used in World War II. LeTourneau credited his success to a "partnership with God" made in 1932 when he resolved to pledge all his tuture profits and much of his energy to religion "The more time I spent in serving God," he once said. "the more business grew . . . Amen, Brother,



After 30 Volkswagens, Father Bittman still believes.

In the beginning, Father Aloysius Bittman bought a bug

That was in 1957 when he joined the staff of St. Anthony's Indian Mission in Mandaree, North Dakoto.

Since then, Father Bittman has gone a long way. In 30 Volkswagens.

Owning two or three at a time, the Bittman staff travels 600 miles per week in each. Over dirt and gravel roads and go to 55 below

A couple of Volkswagens ago, Father

"It was a good time for praying," he Luckily, one 255 pound priest and one

1808 pound bug floated to safety. After the ice was chopped away and a quick oil change, the good father and his faithful companion were on their way.

He was a bit peeved about the oil change though,

"It set the Mission back \$1.80," complained Father Aloysius Bittman.

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BUSINESS

WALL STREET: TROUBLE IN THE PRIVATE CLUB

IIKH all his predecessors, Robert Hauset, president of the New York Stock Exchange, speaks proudly of the Big Board's "presiment position in the securities industry. Then he utters what cheen the securities industry. Then he utters what this dominance is not part of the order of the content ballspring. The should be lost if the exchange does not adapt itself in "a trust ly most well of conditions." Lettly new set of conditions. Teat ly like the trust ly new set of conditions. Teat ly like the like the properties of the security of the s

It must resolve at least three basic problems. They concern not only market professionals but also the 26.5 million Americans who own shares directly and the 100 million who participate in stock trading through mutual funds pension funds and trusts. First, the 642 brokerage firms that are members of the exchange have not yet cleaned up the back-office paperwork mess that since last June has kept the Big Board from conducting a normal 271-hour trading week. In addition, commission rates that member brokers charge to stock traders are under attack by the Justice Department, the Securities and Exchange Commission and institutional investors. All of them contend that the cuts made in some rates last December did not go far enough. Finally, some member firms are clamoring for repeal of an exchange rule that prevents them from raising needed capital by selling their own stock to the public

The troubles are coming to a head now because there has been an enor-

mous growth in trading volume. An average of 13 million shares daily changed hands on the Big Board last year, or 24 times the total that exchange officials once expected to be reached in 1980. A rising proportion of the trading is done by institutions, for which the exchange's trading mechanisms and commission structure are ill adapted. Haack estimates that institutional trades now generate 50% of all commissions on his New York Exchange. Whether the exchange can hold this business against rising competition from other markets, such as regional exchanges, and whether it can handle the still greater trading volume that is sure to come in future years, will depend heavily on the progress II makes toward solving

its present difficulties.

CUTTING THE PAPER. This is the most pressing problem at present, but also the one that the exchange, under Haack. has gone farthest toward overcoming It is slowly phasing into operation a Central Certificate Service, which will transfer stocks from one brokerage account to another by making electronic bookkeeping entries. That will end the archaic system under which messengers now lug bags of stock certificates between brokers' offices in the Wall Street area. This week the exchange also will show off to the press a new computcrized system for matching the institutions' big buy-and-sell orders. Next month the exchange will relieve crowding by increasing space 20%, opening up an extension to the trading floor, Exmission to lengthen trading half an hour to a 2.30 p.m. daily close—still an hour earlier than normal.

As for automation on the exchange, that still has a long way rogo. Planck figures that the brokers can now "comfortably" handle a daily volume of 10 million shares. That is 25% less than the average volume they actually had to struggle with in 1968, and 72% less than the average daily volume of 36 millions have that Exchange Economist Williamser that Exchange Economist Williamser that Exchange Economist Williamser that Exchange Iconomist will also be predicted in all beautiful and the state of the state of

THE COMMISSION FIGHT This IN the issue with the greatest impact on investors' wallets, and one that the exchange must resolve in the next year or so to appease Government regulators. Under intense pressure from the SEC. it enacted a 7% volume discount on big block trades last year, but the cut was too small to please anyone. The Justice Department advocates scrapping the brokers' jealously guarded system of fixed minimum commission rates -which now range from \$6 to \$75 for every 100 shares traded, depending on price-and letting every broker charge whatever he can persuade customers to pay. The idea horrifies Haack. He contends, probably rightly, that it would discriminate in favor of institutions, which have the bargaining power to drive down rates, and against individual investors. who do not

Haack is no defender of the tradition of setting commissions so high that they enable even inefficient brokerage houses to make money and the



HAACK



NEW EXTENSION OF EXCHANGE TRADING FLOOR Not part of the order of nature.

most efficient ones to make barrels of it. Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, a house that specializes in institutional orders. has consistently had a profit margin of 50% before taxes under this system. Individuals can make more money with less work on Wall Street than almost anywhere else in the economy. Some neophyte brokers earn commissions at a \$50,000 annual rate within six months after graduating from a training course, and veterans fairly commonly make \$100,000. Haack generally advocates a new commission schedule under which efficient firms would continue to make large profits but inefficient ones might make none. The theory sounds fine, but he has not given details as to how the schedule would actually work. Brokers already speculate that any such system would drive some inefficient firms out of business or force them to merge. WHOM TO LET IN. Public ownership of the exchange's member firms is the prospective change with the greatest long-range potential for reshaping the structure of Wall Street. The need is clear. Despite the rich commissions, member firms lack capital for longterm needs such as back-office automation, and several recently had trouble complying with an exchange rule that capital must equal at least 5% of debts. They must now rely on internal growth and borrowings

Besides that, it would be desirable to open the "exchange community" to the new ideas that new brokerage owners would bring, and to let the public share in Wall Street's profits. Donaldson, Lufkin is threatening to leave the exchange if the constitution is not changed to be seems sympathetic, but he predicts that a forthcoming vote on public ownership among the exchange's seat holders will

he "close."

Voting Against Themselves, Beneath the debate over these issues, one factor more than any other has held back fundamental change at the Big Board: though its operations profoundly affect the public interest, the exchange is a private club. It is an association of brokerage-house partners who buy memberships entitling them to trade on the exchange floor at commission rates and under basic rules that can be changed only by the club members themselves. The number of seat holders has been fixed at 1,366 since 1953; new members can come in only by buying the seats of old members as they die or retire. As a result, voting power in the exchange bears no relation to the amount of business a member firm does. Merrill Lynch, the biggest brokerage house, holds only 17 seats, and some seat holders are partners of firms that consist mostly of themselves. This system gives power to those who

have the greatest interest in preserving the status quo. A seat holder who voted to cut commission rates, for example, would be consenting to at least

a temporary reduction in his own income. The system recently defeated its own reform. Exchange leaders considered increasing the number of seats early this year, but decided against making a formal proposal after a poll of members disclosed a lack of interest. It would have been astonishing had matters been otherwise. The scarcity of seats for brokers who want to participate in the Big Board's rising volume has driven seat prices up to \$515,000 each: an increase in the number might have lessened their value. Obviously, the exchange must act less like a private club and more like a public institution if it is to change as rapidly as Haack believes it must



MANHATTAN MEAT COUNTER Everything was higher.

PRICES Housewives' Beef

Inflation, which has smashed wage guidelines, sent interest rates to record levels and jacked up a host of indexes, has claimed another victim. Because the farm price index has reached a 17-year high, the retail price of food, which is what irritates people most about inflation, will continue upward. Last week the Agriculture Department reported that prices received by farmers rose 4% during the month ending May 15. and were 8% higher than a year ago. The meat index rose 9% during the month. Prices received by farmers for vegetables jumped 25%, while the dairy product index exceeded that of the corresponding month a year earlier for the 18th consecutive time. Just about everything was higher than last year: pork, chicken, eggs, milk

The most significant rise of all was for beef. Compared with a year ago, prices in April were up 8% for hamburger, 9% for sirloin and 10% for round steak. Some alarmed butchers predict that sirloin may hit \$2 a lb. this summer.

Traditionally, high prices reflect a short supply of cattle. This year the mechanism of the market has been saried by increasing afflonce. With disposable income up 6% from last year, Americans are findularing in their long-term of the state of the sta

High prices should encourage farmers to increase their herds substantially. At the same time, consumers are likely to begin substituting cheaper meats for beef. The result should be a fall in prices

eventually.

HOUSING

A Comsat for Construction

As the demand for decent housing continues to outstrip construction, "No Vacancy" is becoming the ubiquitous sign of the times. Last year, U.S. builders put up just under eight houses and apartments for every 1,000 people, which was half of 1950's record pace. The U.S., once pre-eminent, now lags behind Western Europe, Japan and Russia in housing output on a per capita basis. This week the Nixon Administration will announce formation of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships, a Comsat-style combination of Government and private industry. The corporation expects that its activities will add at least 10,000 new houses and apartments a year in the 1970s for families earning \$8,000 or less

The housing corporation will be headed by Chairman Carter Burgess, former head of American Machine & Foundry, and President Ray Watt, a large West Coast builder. It aims to raise \$50 million from large corporations and banks and a public sale of stock. Then it will invest most of the money in a number of partnerships of local builders and small investors. For every dollar that the corporation puts up, each local partnership will put up about three dollars. In addition, these partnerships will get FHA-insured loans under the National Housing Act for up to 90% of the costs of construction. Altogether, the initial \$50 million could stimulate \$2 billion in construction.

Most of the new housing will be apartments in which tenants can qualify for rent subsidies, provided that Congress approves them. In an urban area, twobedroom apartments will rent for \$75 a month and three-bedrooms for about \$90. Helped by federal tax shelters, inusestors in the partnerships can expect an attractive 16% return on their capital.

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TIME, JUNE 13, 1969

ALL-AMERICA TEAM OF BUSINESS STUDENTS

ORPORATIONS have been searching more eagerly than ever this year for recruits among the June graduates of universities. More than ever, too, the students leaving the campuses are armed with graduate degrees. The number of students in graduate business schools has risen 65% since 1964, to 75,000. Compared with the recruits of earlier years, they are more mature, more experienced and vastly more selfassured. Almost anyone with a master's degree in business can start out at a minimum of \$12,500 u year, and some get up to \$25,000. To find the most promising of these students and discover what they think about business, TIME correspondents visited dozens of universities, interviewing professors, placement officers and students themselves. From these reports, Time has selected an elite group of ten graduate students who are among the year's most accomplished and sought-after business recruits-and who have strong beliefs about the future of enterprise and their roles in it.

Everyone in the group had his pick of jobs, but many turned down offers from dozens of big firms in order to join a small company. The pay might he somewhat more modest there, but the responsibility is larger and the promotions potentially faster. Nobody in the group accepted the highest bidder, and few were interested in general training programs that are easy to get lost in. These students will not have to work their way painfully up through the ranks: they begin fairly close to the top. Many of today's business students have been in the armed forces, have started their own businesses on campus, and have worked as part-time corporate consultants while going to school

Gerald Gallagher, 27, University of Chicago, who has written a thesis on how airlines can increase their profit by carrying freight in off-hours, is entering business because "there is just a fantastic opportunity for a person who wants to do something with himself, wants to change things, while at the same time making himself economically free." He will join Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, where he will start at about \$17,-000 as manager of planning, a job that will take him into all parts of the company. "I had the opportunity to go into several jobs where it would be pretty much my own ball game, but I did not want that. Either by osmosis or direct learning, I want to find out how you really make a corporation go.

Bernard Lietaer, 25. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is a Belgian who came to the U.S. to squeeze it of all the business knowledge he could find. "What Europe particularly lacks in its technological gap with the U.S. is management techniques," he says. Instead of returning home immediately, he will join a U.S. company because "it will start out by giving me responsibility." His choice is Cresap, McCormick and Paget, a consulting firm that will pay him about \$15,000. Even before graduation, he hired out as a consultant on his thesis topic-a computerbased method of protecting companies against currency devaluations.

Robin Foote, 23, is the first woman at the Harvard Business School to become a Baker Scholar. Once a math buff, she shifted to economics because it was "more world-oriented, more people-oriented." This spring she traveled to Atlanta's Morris Brown College, a Negro school, to advise it on how to apply for more federal funds; with her help. Morris Brown got an added \$136,-000. She has applied for a White House Fellowship, and hopes to spend the next year as an aide to a Cabinet officer. love problem solving," she says, which is why she ultimately plans to join a Manhattan management-consulting firm,

McKinsey & Co. Dennis Barr, 26, University of Southern California, heads his class with a

3.93 average (out of a possible 4) and sees business as a steppingstone to his ultimate goal: politics. The treasurer of the California Young Republicans, he worked in the Goldwater campaign. Barr, who also has a law degree, plans to spend the next ten years making enough money so that he can afford fulltime politics. Still, he turned down a \$25,000 offer from a consulting company and instead accepted \$15,000 and commissions from a new firm that specializes in underwriting small and medium-sized issues. "I don't want to conform," says Barr, who likes the freedom that a smaller company offers

Tom Casten, 26. Columbia, is entering the corporate world because he argues that "business is the only institution that has maintained its credibility in the ghetto. The blacks have been badly deprived of management experience, and if we can help them over that, we can go a long way toward solving our social problems." Casten spent four years in the Marines, made money as a part-time computer consultant while in graduate school and was co-founder of a Columbia business students' counseling service for Harlem entrepreneurs. He will continue that kind of work by directing venture-capital investments, including some to low-income areas, for the Irwin Management Co. Starting salary: more than \$15,000.

James McMonagle, 28. University of Pennsylvania, also helped start a counseling service for black entrepreneurs last year. When he confronts a student protester, he likes to ask: "What are you really doing to help society?" A Villanova alumnus and Navy veteran, he turned down 24 other job offers and signed on with Philadelphia-based Comserv, which markets computer services, for \$15,000 a year. "Money is not my im-



McMONAGLE





KNAFREL



ZIMMERMAN



STERN

mediate concern," he says. "With this job, I'll have a chance to get fully involved in management decisions.

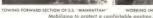
Charles Adams, 27, Washington University of St. Louis, held a job as a night watchman while doing his undergraduate work. Then he joined Del Monte in San Francisco, was called up for a hitch as an Army officer, later entered Washington University's graduate business program for Negroes. At school he helped to start a small investment company, was in the top 10% of his class, and won the award for the best dissertation. Adams is aware that quite a few recruiters are going out of their way to woo Negroes, but he disdains sinecures. "I want to join a company that is going to get its investment out of me -not just fulfill its commitment to the Equal Opportunity Act." Having rejected many other offers, he will return to Del Monte as a financial analyst

Steve Kngebel, 28, Stanford, was a Peace Corpsman in Venezuela, then returned to Stanford for his M.B.A. Now he will combine his business skills and social concerns as an executive of the International Basic Economy Corp., which finances development projects in poorer nations. Knaebel said: "It's the old question do you want revolution, or do you want to go to work and try to develop resources and improve the world? I think that people today have rejected the New Left view that the system is rotten. They want to get in the system and do something about it, to work for the ends that they think are worthwhile. It's really a new use of power and

money for good."

Bill Zimmerman, 27, New York University, will return to his native Baltimore and try to help build it up as a vice president of Commercial Hardware Inc. a small distributor of construction materials. He argues that the construction industry must be radically changed and modernized, and he has written two papers on ways to apply computers to do it. "The current system, under which materials are bought piecemeal, maximizes costs instead of profits," he says. "Building design can be programmed into a computer, and the more prefabrication you can accomplish, the less costly the building will be," He is so certain that he can make his company's profits go up that he persuaded the president to pay him, on top of his salary of \$12,000, stock bonuses if the firm's annual growth rate exceeds 15%.

Jonothon Stern, 24, also New York University, stands No. 1 in his graduate business class of 470 and has been working part time at \$37 a day studying property accounting for Oil. He will now join John P. Maguire & Co., a Manhattan factoring firm that advances money to small businesses; this will give Stern the chance to study a variety of businesses. He has other reasons for preferring a small company: "I once had an offer from General Motors, but my idol is Ralph Nader." He adds: "I think that there is more to life than earnings per share."





WORKING IN ALASKA OILFIELD

OIL

Battle Over Special Privilege

In more ways than one, oil is power. It provides 75% of the U.S.'s energy. serves as the basis of some of its most fabled personal fortunes and influences its foreign and domestic policy. Now the Nixon Administration and the Congress are conducting some long-overdue reappraisals of the Government's policy toward the oil industry itself. The question increasingly asked in Washington is whether the industry should continue to enjoy its privileged position with regard to income taxes and import controls.

To find answers. President Nixon has appointed a task force that includes practically his entire Cabinet and ordered it to report to him this fall on oil policy. Two congressional committees are also scrutinizing the industry. The inquiry is likely to be more intense than in the past, since many of oil's longtime friends in high places have departed. Lyndon Johnson has retired: former House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senator Robert Kerr are dead. Louisiana's Russell Long is left to defend the industry against such Senate reformers as Edward Kennedy, Edmund Muskie, Philip Hart and William Proxmire. Oilmen have mobilized their own forces in a desperate battle to protect their interests.

Dwindling Reserves. The prime target of the critics is the oil depletion allowance. It permits owners to deduct from their taxable income 271% of the value that each well yields moreover, the deduction can be taken as long as the well produces, even if the original cost of exploration and development has been returned many times over. The allowance was partially responsible for the fact that no taxes at all were paid by 155 U.S. citizens who earned more than \$200,000 in 1967.

Oilmen argue that the special allowance is necessary to compensate them for the tremendous costs and risks involved in prospecting for oil, and to give them extra incentive to search for more of it. The search has been slowing lately. Since 1957, the number of new wells drilled in the U.S. has dropped 40%: domestic reserves have remained nearly constant but demand for oil has increased by as much as 29%. weeks ago, Michael A. Wright, chairman of Humble Oil, told Senator Hart's antitrust subcommittee that 87% of the nation's oil needs by 1985 will have to come from reserves that have not yet

been discovered.

Quota System. Even so. Congress has not been persuaded that exploration would be discouraged by a reduction in the depletion allowance. On Capitol Hill, the feeling is growing that the allowances, which cost the Government about \$1 billion a year in lost taxes, are indefensible from the viewpoint of tax equity. Partly because of its tax privileges, the oil industry has fairly high profits. Oil companies earn an average of 11.2% on their invested capital, which is slightly above the norm for all U.S. industry; they also earn 10% on sales, which is about double the figure for other U.S. industry. Oilmen seem reconciled to seeing the allowance cut to 221% or perhaps less, and the depreciation limited to fixed periods instead of the lifetime of the well

Another target for congressional fire is the oil import-quota system, which helps keep domestic oil prices up by keeping foreign oil out. Middle Eastern oil costs about 4¢ a gallon compared with U.S. oil's 7¢; best estimates are that the quotas oblige U.S. customers to pay \$4 billion to \$5 billion a year in higher oil and gasoline prices. Imposed by the Eisenhower Administration in 1959 on the grounds of "national se-

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curity," the quotas limit imports of crude to 21% of domestic production.

Like the depletion allowance, the quota system is also justified as a means of encouraging exploration for more domestic reserves. The quotas, according to the oilmen's argument, save the U.S. from becoming too dependent on the oil sheiks of the unstable Middle East. They would probably raise their royalties —and thus the price——if the U.S. needed substantially more oil.

On the other hand, the protectionist system forces the U.S. to use up its reserves at a time when much cheaper oil is readily available abroad. Senator Hard has, perhaps extravagantify, accused the oil companies of "playing Russian roulette with national security" by supporting import restriction while drawing dutom the domestic supply. Ted Reamely, "our reserves will be conserved if we consume them first." In view of such at tacks, Congress is likely next year to in-

crease the import quotas. Help from the North. The whole debate has been intensified by the discovery of a huge pool of oil under the snows of Alaska's North Slope. The biggest new find in the US, since the East Texas strike of 1930, the North Slope promises to lessen US. depensible to the control of the North Slope promises to lessen US. depensition of the North Slope promises to lessen US. depensuitant, estimates the find could run as high as 20 billion barrels, enough to increase US. reserves by two-thrids.

For their part, oilmen maintain that they would not have risked North Slope drilling without the depletion allowance. and claim that the allowance is necessary to spur further development. Despite the likelihood of a cut in the allowance, however, the managers of Atlantic-Richfield, British Petroleum and Jersey Standard believe that the find will be so profitable that they plan to invest \$900 million in an 800-mile pipeline. It will bring the oil to the ice-free port of Valdez, Alaska. In order to expand its marketing of Alaskan oil, British Petroleum last week announced its intention of merging with Standard Oil of Ohio, whose stock promptly shot up 271 points to close at 981.

Humble Oil's executives, hoping to succeed where Explorer John Cabot failed, announced last week that they are fitting out the 115,000-ton tanker Manhattan as an icebreaker for a pioneering-and perilous-test through the long ice-choked Northwest Passage to the Arctic next month. Den-King Resources Co., wagering that the Munhattan will make it, has drafted plans to build a deep-water port in Maine's Casco Bay. That port is even closer to the North Slope than Seattle is. No Alaskan oil is expected to be delivered to any of the lower 48" states before 1972 at the earliest. But its existence may provide Congress with the reasons it needs to make some major changes in the oil industry's present privileges.

SPAIN

Conflict of Cultures

Spain's biggest postwar industrialist. Eduardo Barreiros, in 1964 made what he then called "the best and most stimulating deal of my life." For \$18 million, he sold a 35% interest in his family-owned Barreiros Diesel \$A. to Chrysler Corp., and the company starter of the producing Dongs Darts and French of producing Dongs Darts and French business, patrners than the Americans," be said. Today the thinks differently. He has quit as president of the firm because, although the deal greatly increased his wealth, the sank in a few years from Spain's No. 1 industrialist

to a junior partner of the Americans. Chrysler, Barreiros claimed, did not



Just one more factory.

live up to its obligations, used highhanded methods and cared little about "human values." His accusations reverberated across Spain, whose leaders are increasingly worried about U.S. economic penetration. At 49, Barreiros is more than one of the country's wealthiest men; he is a legend, having parlayed a shabby mechanic's shop on the road to Andalusia outside Madrid into one of the largest private corporations in Spain. Editorialized Madrid's daily ABC: most prestigious firm of the Spanish motor industry has ended up as one more factory of an international capitalist organization for which Spain's interests matter little." Other newspapers accused the U.S. of "colonialism" and "economic imperialism.

Pride v. Efficiency. Actually, Barreiros had had little control of the firm for some time. After the first disappointing year of partnership, when car outpu, was barely half of his overly optimistic goal of 92,000, Chrysler invested another \$20.5 million to save the enterprise from caving in. In 1967, Chrysler raised its interest in the company to 77%. Barreiros was still president-and his brothers Valeriano, Graciliano and Celso were all members of the management group-but his family had only a minority voice. Unmistakably, Chrysler then started running the company through its own efficiencyminded men, who were much less sensitive than Barreiros to the traditional Spanish way of doing business through friends and connections.

The company admits that it lost "several million" dollars in 1968. The Dodge Dart, priced at \$3,400 in Spain, proved much too expensive and ostentatious even for government leaders. Last year, sales of Darts slipped to only 1,598, and Simcas to 31,106, out of a total Spanish car production of more than 300,000. To help the company get back on its feet. Chrysler planned another \$30 million stock offering, which would have further reduced Barreiros' share of ownership. That, most likely, was what prompted Barreiros and his brothers to resign, though they still retain about 22% of the stock. Without them, Chrysler may find the going harder in a land where personal contacts and government good will mean much in business. The Barreiros case will probably scare off other proud Spanish businessmen from making big deals with the cool and wealthy Americans.

INSURANCE

Women Are Safer Drivers

Though women drivers are often the objects of jokes or curses, the joke is really on the men. Two British companies are offering lower insurance rates to women. The Royal Automobile Club last month reduced its premums by 10%: its rates by 20%: U.S. casually companies, whose executives admit that women are better risks than men, are not nearly segmerous. Many of them offer 10% discounts to women, but only to those agent 30 to 64 who are the sole operators

A study by the Zurich company howed that women are less costly to insure than men. While the women have more accidents per mile, their smashups are less serious and 20% less costly to settle. Women tend to clobber fence posts and rear bumpers: men often hit other cars head-on and at higher speeds, A separate survey by the World Health Organization made similar findings, Says Robert Pansard, a French safety official who participated in the WHO study: "Although women are perhaps more emotional, they do not possess the drive for power which often becomes aggressiveness in male drivers." They also do not drive as much at night or on dangerous rural roads as men do.

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CINEMA

NEW MOVIES

Batman in Fatigues

"Revolt and revolution both wind up at the same crossroads," wrote Albert Camus. "The police, or folly." The men who made Che chose folly. As Scenarists Michael Wilson and Sy Bartlett saw it, the Cuban revolution was just a Caribbean comic strip drawn in that country's green and peasant land. Its lu-



SHARIF AS CHE
One part of the Dynamic Duo.

minaries. Che Giusvara (Omar Shairi) and Fidel Castro (Jack Palanea) are Bat-man and Robin in fatigues. Che formulates the plans with a marvelously worldly wisdom. Fidel dimb grins; all that is missing is a light bulb over his head, When Giusvara decides to aim nutrel or the control of the

In appearance, Sharif is astenishingly similar to Che, and Palinne's brokennosed, cigar-chomping cobra is as close to Castro as any American is likely to get. It is a pity that the actors could not grow misplin or force along with their beards. Palance's civilar hand more and staceture beautiful produced in the constitution of the control of the c

Striving to placate all factions, the film actually represents more. One moment Che is a cultural hero: the next he is a messimal psychopath. As for Russia and the Ch., the film makes them to bystanders who have nothing to do with the central melottramu. The driven, half-pecits half-deliving doctor has become a worldwide legend in the past three years. Though his body was seen

and identified, he is still rumored to be alive somewhere in the mountains of South America. If anyone doubts Che's death he has only to look at the celluloid coffin that bears his name.

Tedium in the Tumbleweed

The fun is over. When the first Italian westerns washed up on American shores, audiences were delighted with their frenzied hyperbole, their melodramatic distortions of American cimenatic folklore. Everyone assumed they were great satire and that Director Sergio Leone was either a big put-on or a success with the service of the servic

A director like John Ford, if he thought this tedious two-hour tale worth the telling, could have done it in a tight ninety minutes. Leone spends most of his time focusing on the actors' eyes squinting tensely into the camera lens. The intent is operatic, but the effect is soporific. Stuck in this gluepot horse opera, such veteran range hands as Henry Fonda, Claudia Cardinale and Keenan Wynn struggle helplessly and often hysterically. But the picture, such as it is, belongs to Charles Bronson. A flinty character actor who has appeared in everything from The Great Escape to The Dirty Dozen, he plays his first important lead with commendable skill. Unfortunately, such an overblown and overbearing film as this is too great a weight for any one man. The only thing capable of carrying Once Upon a Time in the West is a stagecoach-the one headed out of

Glandscape Artist

"I run my film like the Boy Scouts," claims Producer-Director Russ Meyer.
"I want absolutely no hanky-panky on the set. You can't expect two people who have been halling the night before to turn in a convincing performance the next day."

Meyer's stern philosophy, applied to 16 nudie films, has helped make him one of the most successful independent film makers in Hollwood. His first movie: The Immoral Mr. Teas, was made for \$24,000, but when it brought in over \$1,000,000 Meyer, a former industrial film cameraman, found himself on too of the bottom of the business.

His latest movie Viren, is in the Meyer muld. Once again there is the rolling glantscape: once again, such complications as plot and acting are forbidden. In British Columbia, Canada, a bush pilot spends too much of his time on the wing. In his absence, his wife Vixen (Efrica Gavin, 42-24-36) lives up to her name, deceiving him with evcyone from a Royal Mountie to the wife of a visiting fisherman (Vincene Wallacc, 37-24-35). A Mama Sutra of seductresses, Vixen is an ideal utility infielder, at home in any position. Audiences willing to endure lapses into good taste will be rewarded by a work too juvenile to be considered a stag movie, but happily free of the socialminded pretentiousness that mars more serious sexploitation films.

Though Meyer's films have grossed \$11 million in ten years, the profits, he claims, have been incidental, "My turnon," he says, "is making movies that en-tertain me." Unfortunately, like those other pioneers, Kinsey and Masters, Meyer may live to see himself trampled in the sexual revolution. "I am worried about I Am Curious (Yellow)," admits Meyer (46-38-42), "That film has put me at a crossroad. I have nevor shown genitalia in any of my films. Once you have to show that to get people into the theater, how many people are going to do it with taste? I have always been against censorship in any form, but I have also maintained that you should leave something up to the imagination.

Brains Without Wit

Want to see a dirty joke? Well, there is a young widow (Catherine Spaak) who finds out that her late husband was a real swinger. He left her his private flat designed for orgies, complete with floor mirrors, and an elaborate camera setup for making movies of all the fun. Copy of Krafft-Ebing in hand, the wide-eyed widow goes through all the paces, developing a real yen for the "Aristotelian perversion." Only a strong, soher and steadfast physician (Jean-Louis Trintignant) is able to set her straight. But-surprise-he digs Aristotle too. That isn't much of a punch line, but then. The Libertine isn't much of a joke. This slick little bit of Italian pornography has enough brains not to take itself seriously, but lacks the wit to make it anything more than a painless put-on.



TRINTIGNANT & SPAAK IN "LIBERTINE"
Indecent period of mourning.





Vitality of a washerwoman's work as judged by the vehemence of her elbows.

The City of Man

THE ECONOMY OF CITIES by Jane Jacobs. 268 pages. Random House. \$5.95.

Bless Jane Jacobs. Lively, lucid, blunt, original, she triumphs by being mostly wrong. Her first book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961), took thousands of great-American-city dwellers by storm. Written in the heyday of urban renewal, it briskly pointed out that most big, supposedly progressive rebuilding projects were casting a "great blight of dullness" on the already tormented city dweller. In her ten years as an editor of Architectural Forum, she had seen plenty of such projects. The zesty future, she argued, could be found instead by returning to the diversity of the past, by restoring a facsimile of such seemingly decrepit neighborhoods as New York's Greenwich Village and San Francisco's Telegraph Hill. Mix rich and poor residents, she cried, old and new buildings, add a few cultural facilities for ferment, and cherish the small shops that provide neighborhood intimacy

Curmudgeon and Gadfly. As an organic cure for the complex ills of great U.S. cities, Jane Jacobs' program was preposterous. By itself, planned diversity could hardly create a new way of life for urban slum dwellers. Given the economic pressures working upon them, and the present tastes of middle-class and lower-class city dwellers alike. U.S. city planners are no more likely to re-ereate old neighborhood living successfully than William Morris would have been tablishing a utopian handicraft community on the banks of the river Wandle. No matter. Despite her mistakes. Jane Jacobs, operating as curmudgeon and gadfly, had taken grandiose assumptions of city planning and stood them on their ears with invigorating effect.

This time out she is up to much the same sort of trick. In The Economy of Cities, she asks "why some cities grow and others stagnate and decay." To find the answer, she develops a beguiling window-box theory of economics in which personal conviction and anecdote weigh more than statistics. The ingredient essential to the vitality of cities, she as-serts, is "new work being added to old." Innovative energy comes from small, independent, hustling entrepre-"The little movements at the hubs," says Jane Jacobs, "turn the great wheels of economic life.

Bee in Clover. To support this conclusion, she darts around history hunting for examples like a bee in a clover field. Ancient Mohenio-daro in the Indus Valley, Tokyo in 1900, medieval Antwerp are all plundered for signs of stagnation or growth. But her key comparison is drawn from 19th century Engand. In the 1840s, says Jane Jacobs, Manchester looked like a model of progress and modernity. It had become a rich, gigantic industrial machine for cranking out textiles. By contrast, Birmingham then seemed outmoded. It was "a muddle of oddments," where myriad small firms busily made saddles, harnesses, tools, buttons, guns, jewelry, papier-mâché trays. What happened? When other cities began producing their own textiles, proud Manchester withered, But, Jane Jacobs delightedly points out, poky Birmingham's underlying diversity allowed it to adapt creatively to changing technologies and markets

Parallels with the present-day U.S. are freely drawn. Such cities as Detroit, Pittsburgh and Rochester, the author warns, are more like Manchester than Birmingham. Each depends on a few specialized products and so does not enough encourage new kinds of work. Boston, on the other hand, looks much healthier to Jane Jacobs for it has revived its stagnating economy with a swarm of small, flexible electronics and research firms. Postwar Los Angeles also draws praise for spawning new companies to produce goods and services (sliding glass doors, mechanical saws) once imported from other cities. In range of activities, though, no American city can match Hong Kong or Tokyo, whose variegated industries Jane Jacobs much admires.

Like Norman Mailer, who dreams of turning New York City into a citystate with himself as philosopher-king. Mrs. Jacobs deals with each city as an isolated economic entity, with its own exports and imports. She ignores the economic interdependence of today's world and the enormous, unavoidable impact of government not merely upon the whole economy but-through tax and credit policies, commerce regulations and contracts-upon the very obscure and pascent businesses she most prizes. It is as if Mrs. Jacobs postulated that the vitality and effectiveness of a washerwoman's work can be judged by the vehemence of her elbows, while neglecting to mention the existence of washing machines.

Despite such simplistic assumptions, Jane Jacobs succeeds as usual. Shining

through every page of her book is a houndless and infectious conviction that the city is the best and noblest product of man. In one remarkable chapter she even goes so far as to reverse the traditional assumption that the first cities grew out of agricultural communities. Not at all. Citing archaeological evidence. Jane Jacobs argues that the first cities were founded on trade and actually helped create organized agriculture and animal husbandry. In an age when most Americans have been persuaded that great cities are creeping problem areas, to be deplored and it possible escaped, Jane Jacobs perceives and persuades that cities and the challenge of their problems offer a mighty and re-

A Turn of the Screw

HENRY JAMES THE TREACHEROUS YEARS (1895-1901) by Leon Edel. 381 pages Lippincott \$10

On Jan. 5, 1895, Henry James, at the age of 51, had the traumatic experience of his life. His only produced play, Guy Donwille, opened to jeers from a London first-night audience. Despite appreciative reviews by Shaw and H. G. Wells, among others, James' overliterary drama closed after hardly more than "15 vulgar nights of the odious stage.

James wanted to be a successful play-

wright as passionately as some men long to climb Everest. Gup Domville's failure caused him very nearly to break tioning as a writer. Or so Leon Edel asserts in this, the fourth volume of his spent the next years writing himself projected five-book biography. James spent the next years writing himself "imaginative self-therapy." Recounting a transitional period in James' creative life, Professor Edel has more recourse than necessary to Preud, but his book the previous volumes.

Under the lash of critical rejection, Edel suggests, James' "feelings returned to childhood hurts." He harked back to earlier stories like The Pupil, whose moral Edel reads as: "Little boys die because they assert their claim to live." James not only returned to the terrible world "of blighted childhoods," Edel observes, he frequently practiced a sort of "spiritual transvestitism" and returned in the form of a little girl. In James' creative world, "little boys died. It was safer to be a little girl. They usually endured"-as in The Turn of the Screw (1898), possibly the best short story about children in English, certainly the best modern ghost story.

Ames a motivate risis resulted in more techniques as well as new themes. He had always thought of storytelling as painting, Edd argues; now he sharpened it toward drama. He unfolded his stories more and more through dialogue. Most important of all, the shock of the Carlo Damille filesco brought to life emotions James had half suppressed until then, including pervense low: The author discreedly suggests, with supporting fantated with a young, rather obtase. Norwegian-American sculptor named Hendrik Anderson.



JAMES AS PILGRIM (BY MAX BEERBOHM)
Passion for an Everest.

ways, James revived. He moved from London to Susses, with his "faithful fat dog" Tosca, a canary and a bicycle. He had dimner at 8 on his terrace, as if his English cottage were a Florentine villa. Finally he hought Lamb House in Rye, acquired an agent, and managed his business of the state of the state

House guests would find him in "a kind of Holbein square cap of velvet and black velvet coat," scattering bread on the lawn for the birds. In the spring of 1900, when he was 57, he shaved off his beard and felt. "forty and clean and light." His bared face revealed surprising strength—the iron spirituality of a worfdly archbishop.

In the presence of this face, Edel's quasi-Freudian explanations seem a little glib, and perhaps a little irrelevant. The simpler, curiously old-fashioned dictum of Ezra Pound somehow fits better: more writers fail from lack of char-

acter than from lack of intelligence. James had come through. Simultaneously toughened and mellowed by his ordeal, he was ready for what devoted Jacobins agree was his major phase: The Ambassadors, The Wings of the Dove. The Golden Bowl. He had managed that extremely difficult had managed that extremely difficult ing integrity. The moene without low in the language? James asked himself. In his notebooks he answered: "Youth!" With his life he awwered: "Youth!"

Free-Floating Levity

CRONOPIOS AND FAMAS by Julio Cor-16zar, 161 pages, Random House, \$4.95.

While Vishnu dreams, says the Hindu, the world is born. Private dreams are subcontracted out of this cosmic snooze with the understanding that when Vishnu wakens, all subordinate dreamers will be rubbed out like morning evernist.

Until that dawn of destruction, the best advice is to go merrily, merrily. For "the deepest insights sometimes emerge from a joke, a gag, or a slap in the face," says Argentina's Julic Cortázar, author of the highly praised fantasy-novel Hoposcotch and of Blow-Up, the short story turned hit movie by Michelangelo Antonioni.

Cortazar's Cronopios and Famas is an assortment of free-floating insights of varying specific levity. Some never quite surface. They are the blind fish of his inspiration, stunted in the sealed caves of his most private fantasy.

The need for originality is much prized by Cortázar. He once cast The-seus as a dull-witted, conventional, sword-swinging Victor Mature hero pitted against the Minotaur—seen as a poet-victim being set upon for his incendiary ideas. In a chapter of Cronopios and Famas, he offers Hamlet as



JULIO CORTÁZAR
Teeth marks under the watch band.

a man obsessed with finding a five-leaf clover—a quest worthy of his proud and exceptional nature.

Cortikar displays his own exotic hustor best in a section entitled "The Instruction Manual." As if briefing a group of anthropologists from Uranus, he details precise ways to cry, sing, climb stairs and comb hair." There's something stairs and comb hair. "There's something series of parallels, and the comb isn't the bone but the gaps which penetrate space." Cortikara's ability to present common objects from strange perspectives, as if he had just invented them, makes essee of rare expectation.

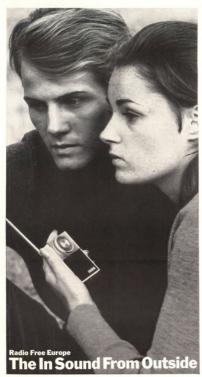
The manual also contains instructions on how to make oneself afraid, including terse scary stories. One is about a man who squeezes a timy woman feel low discovers blood leaking from minuscule teeth marks under his watch band. Not bad—though for chilling employ, entitler surpasses an anonymous genius's unpublished maverpiece bound of the control of

Solution and Dissolution

THE RUINED MAP by Kobo Abé. Translated by E. Dale Saunders. 299 pages. Knopf. \$5.95.

The literature and electronics, the Japanes and the Land and the Land

The Woman in the Dunes was such a book. Kobo Abé, one of Japan's most



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important writers, took an absurdist nightmare-the tale of a man's adjustment to life in an escapeless pit-and gave it both mythic reality and a moral power. Abe's The Face of Another, a novel about a chemist with a burnt-out face who attempts to function behind a life mask he has fashioned for himself, is as direct as any contemporary exploration of the identity-crisis theme. The Ruined Map, his newest novel to be translated into English, involves the Japanese version of a traditional Western private eye, but the view is strictly from an Eastern slant. The suspense is stirred up metaphysically rather than neatly plotted. The landscape is always as delicate as it is ominous.

The story still begins as generically as any Chandler. A detective is engaged to track a missing husband. The wife is alcoholic, inscrutable and intriguing. Armed with few clues and a feeling that he is embarked on a useless yet necessary quest, the detective proceeds to make a grand detour of the local underworld scene. What started out as a whodunit winds up as a "Who-am-I?" Separated from his home, and a victim of a sense of alienation to boot, the detective begins to identify with the missing husband and yearn for his own wife, to the point of self-return: "No good hunter pursues his quar-ry too far." he rationalizes, "Rather he puts himself in his quarry's place as he looks for the path of flight; by pursuing himself he corners his quarry.

As straight mystery the book will probably disappoint most Western readers. Wispy implications substitute for concrete class. The end and of a more class of the control of

KOBO ABÉ Whodunit becomes Who-Am-I.



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Mr. Herbert Kretzmer, Drama Critic, London Daily Express

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